THE BRITISH JOURNAL OF DELINQUENCY

Vol. V July, 1954 No. 1

EDITORIAL

Norway, whose penal system is the subject of three papers in the present issue, occupies an honoured place in modern penal history mainly as the first country to establish Child Welfare Councils and also on account of its pioneer Penal Code of 1902. As Professor Andenaes points out, a number of changes have been made in the past fifty years in the treatment of both juvenile and adult offenders. In the Child Welfare Act of 1953, which through the good offices of United Nations has become available in an English translation, the scope of the activities of these Councils has been further extended so that at present they seem to combine the functions carried out in this country by the Juvenile Courts, the Children's Committees and the Children's Officers. With regard to the treatment of habitual and psychopathic offenders it is interesting to observe that with the opening in 1951 of the special institution at Ila the number of prisoners sentenced to preventive detention—under the 'dual-track' system existing in Norway since 1929—has been increasing. In this country, there has been a corresponding, though much larger, increase in preventive detainees after the change over in 1948 from the former 'dual-track' to a 'single-track' system. It seems that it is the existence of suitable institutions rather than legal terminology that determines the popularity, or lack of it, of preventive detention with the Courts. In view of the imminent establishment of an 'East-Hubert' institution in this country, the experiences of Ila, as those of the Danish pioneer institution at Herstedvester, will have to be closely watched.

One particular issue raised in the Norwegian survey is of considerable topical interest to British readers, viz. the proposal to exclude from the Norwegian calendar of offences homosexual intercourse between consenting

parties who are also of age. Recently in this country a wave of popular interest in ' homosexuality ' and ' bisexuality ', swollen no doubt by reports of ' sensational ' cases, has reached the point at which ordinarily it would be liable to spend itself in hasty and prejudiced action. Fortunately this more sensational approach, which already has produced in homosexual groups the feeling that they are about to witness and to suffer from an outbreak of ' witch-hunting ', has been offset by the genuine concern freely expressed in Press and Parliament that these root problems, which lie so close to the foundations of human society, should be re-considered and dealt with in a manner consonant with their gravity, that is to say with dispassionate understanding and compassionate laws. And we welcome the decision of the Home Secretary, Sir David Maxwell Fyfe, to appoint a Committee capable, it is to be hoped, of achieving, in some part at any rate, these fundamental aims.

The situation is similar to that which arose a few years ago when enlightened opinion regarding capital punishment, somewhat incongruously reinforced by public anxiety regarding crimes of violence, led to the appointment of a Royal Commission on the latter subject. Commenting in our editorial columns on the findings of this Commission, we took occasion to observe that the time was ripe for the sponsors of public opinion to declare on soul and conscience the science or faith that was in them. The appointment of a special committee on homosexuality provides yet another occasion for the mobilization of enlightened opinion, an aim which, however, cannot very well be realized unless each of the sciences whose fields of observation and methods of examination bring them in close and objective contact with these problems is ready to publicize its own conclusions and attitudes regarding the subject.

As a step in this direction we are glad to publish in this issue a sociological study of homosexuality by Professor T. Kempe of Utrecht whose international reputation lends considerable weight to the conclusions he presents. It may be felt by some readers that these conclusions would stand by themselves without any buttressing from the tenets of existentialism and that in any case increasing understanding of the interrelations of individual and group psychology compels both of these sciences to widen the scope of their approach to human problems without any additional metaphysical incentive. The ' human contacts ' of individuals and of groups are after all fundamental dynamic issues which no psychological science can afford to neglect. However that may be, the conclusions Professor Kempe advances are capable and deserving of paraphrase into the different dialects of individual and social psychology; and this is a task which should be immediately undertaken by those best qualified to do so.

But, although we may look forward in a fairly sanguine mood to the deliberations of the Home Office Committee, we must restrain any undue optimism regarding extensive changes in the laws defining sexual offences that may result from these deliberations. To return for a moment to the Norwegian survey: it is a chastening thought that a country where social opinion is enlightened enough to be prepared to cease penalizing homosexuality as such is nevertheless prepared to sanction castration as a remedy for some sexual offences. True, in Norway this talion penalty is facultative in the sense that the offender must give his ' consent ' to the operation; but since a ' certain amount of social pressure ' is exercised on the inmate by telling him that he will not be released unless he is willing to be castrated, it seems that on occasion a penological factor is brought to bear on what might otherwise be regarded as an experiment in therapy. However that may be, it is clear that we cannot hope fully to understand the regulations governing sexual offences until we investigate the deep and mostly unconscious forces that govern public opinion in this matter.

The problem of the different mental qualities and behaviour existing in different members of a family has engaged psychologists for many years. Stanley Hall stated half a century ago that being an only child was a disease in itself. Alfred Adler made much of the character difference resulting from position in a family; the Will to Power was exercised differently from different family vantage points. *Prima facie* there is something to be said for the hypothesis, but the number of variables involved is great, *e.g.*, size of family, intervals between sibs, the number of intermediate members, the cohesion of the family, distribution of sex and finally the hereditary factor which can differentiate sharply between a family of two children. The enquiry of Lees and Newson in this number is therefore particularly welcome, for although the research was not primarily directed to delinquent conduct, anti-social conduct might well be considered as a function of the first social group, the family, and the place the individual child occupies in this unit.

Lees and Newson are particularly careful with regard to statistical checks and although they could not in a relatively short study cover all possible psychological and social variables they have concentrated on those that are most significant. From their findings there are many points of differences due to sib position which individual analytic studies confirm. Students of gang behaviour will be especially interested in the social opportunities and pressures of the intermediate members. The problems of delinquency are nicely exposed in this study.

THE HOMOSEXUAL IN SOCIETY [1]

By G. Th. KEMPE (UTRECHT)

Every society based upon those values and principles which have developed through the centuries within the sphere of Western culture includes among its members a number of men and women who—at least nowadays—call themselves *homophiles,* but who outside their own circle are more commonly known as homosexuals (a fairly neutral term) or are designated by names expressive of derision, loathing, or even hate. And it is a remarkable fact that among the most virulent of anti-homophiles we find many possessed, tacitly or explicitly, of unshakable conviction that homophiles all know each other—or at least recognize each other at first glance—and that they are linked with each other by some mysterious bond that threatens the safety of other members of society. Even though these sinister suspicions lie dormant in ordinary times, experience teaches us that they are easily awakened and that when political groups see a chance of exploiting irrational fears for their own ends, the danger of an outbreak of violence against 'The Homosexuals' is real enough. Against these fears, prejudices and hatreds and all that may result from them there is no better safeguard than a dispassionate description of the homophile from a sociological point of view.

In the first place homophiles certainly do not form a *mass*. We speak of *masses* only when considerable numbers of persons are accidentally drawn together by some temporary focus of attraction. This rules out homophiles, who are not found assembled in considerable numbers. Should we then rather speak of a *community* of homophiles within the larger community of which they form a part? There are certain objections to this conception. After all a community is characterized by the fact that it rests upon a totality of collective cultural possessions, in many ways typical precisely of that community and formed in the course of time into what we may call its typical 'way of life'. In spite of the fact that the world has known homophiles for many centuries, a specifically homophile *culture* does not exist. The situation is rather this: that the homophile, in spite of his exceptional position, represents in his way of life the culture of the larger social whole

[1] Although, apparently, the term 'homophile' is current in Holland, we have chosen, as far as the title is concerned, to use the term 'homosexual', which is current in this country. (ED.)

to which he belongs. And he often represents it with distinction. If a community from its collective cultural possessions develops specific forms of organization it takes the character of a *society,* the members of which know they have to observe rules, laid down and maintained by authorities, with sanctions in case of non-observance. We may, therefore, dismiss as a product of fearful imagination the existence of a mysterious homophile secret society. Our only conclusion must be that homophiles constitute a *group,* the members of which feel themselves strongly and permanently linked together by the circumstance that they are all predominantly attracted to persons of their own sex, an attraction having a sexual basis either mental or physical or both. And it is this very *permanency* which distinguishes the group from the mass. Indeed it seems to me that the consciousness of belonging together is so important for homophiles and is experienced by them as a fact of such importance, that it fully justifies our maintaining the existence of a *group.* This can be endorsed completely by anyone who has witnessed how deeply young people who have developed into homophiles are moved by the realization that they do not stand alone in a hostile world.

The above is not meant to be anything more than a statement of a factual sociological situation ; obviously this is not the place to discuss the question which are the ways by which a human being may develop into a person of homophilic feeling.

Even if a group cannot boast a common cultural possession (for then it would change into a community) it may yet happen that it is bound together by a common *ideology.* It is worth while to enquire how far this is the case in the homophile group.

Taking the line that every ideology worthy of that name starts from a world-embracing contention, its adherents being convinced that life on earth can only be happy and satisfactory for everybody if *everybody* is won over to the ideas in question, it is obvious that there is no such thing as a homophile ideology. The aspiration for social conditions, in which homo- and heterophily will be recognized as equivalent expressions of human love-life, lies on an entirely different level. The issue at the root of this aspiration is after all one of justice, and as such it is ranked higher than ideological conceptions. It is obvious, on the other hand, that the question whether and how far a certain ideology is ready and able to strive for the realization of this claim for justice may in given circumstances be of great, perhaps decisive importance for the homophile when making his ideological choice. Consequently our conclusion must be that there is no such thing as a homophile ideology ; in this respect the homophile group bears a *heterogeneous* character.

Though we have now come fairly close to the facts about the homophile, we have neglected one element of the highest importance in determining his position in society; namely, that homophiles form a *minority*. It would be superfluous to produce evidence of this fact; it is sufficient to refer to the findings of Kinsey, Martin & Pomeroy, who estimated that about 4 per cent. of the population of the U.S.A. were homophiles. Whether or no this percentage is to be considered representative for the whole Western world, the possibility of a percentage of 50–50 becomes somewhat remote. The rest of my exposition will therefore be devoted to the question of how the minority and majority can cope with the necessity of living together.

Coming to our own times, we may positively state that the existence of a group of homophiles is *known* to the majority of their fellows, but known in a way completely different from knowledge of other phenomena. Let us elucidate this. The existence of different peoples is also something known, but this knowledge is immediately correlated to their *recognition*. We may intensely dislike certain foreign races, we may perhaps think they ought not to exist, but we should hardly go as far as to deny that they *do* exist.[2] This however is actually the case with regard to homophiles. Though every sensible person knows that the group exists, it is never recognized as existing. It is ignored: silence on the subject reigns. Hence there is no meeting ground or point of contact between the majority and the minority.[3]

The facts mentioned above entail such serious consequences for the homophile that he cannot ignore them; many indeed are heavily weighed down by them. The fact that they belong to this minority group, as a rule by no free choice of their own, cannot escape common notice—unless they prefer to conceal the truth. Under favourable circumstances they even may, in a certain sense, be 'accepted' as such, but only in a very special way.

How can we 'know' our fellow-man? We could imagine gathering exactly determinable, measurable and ponderable particulars about him, for instance, his physical set and bodily characteristics. Yet no one would

[2] Of course this does not apply to times of war, during which numerous psychological phenomena on the collective level can be witnessed, which, if observed in similar forms as expressions of an individual, would doubtless have to be classified as pathological.

[3] It would take me too long to consider here in detail the question, which factors have contributed to creating this strange situation, which never ceases to amaze the man of science. I may in this connection, however, point to the very important work of my compatriot, Dr. C. Van Emde Boas, who recently expressed views which, though I do not consider them to be beyond criticism, have greatly contributed to the clarification of this problem. (cf. his thesis, *Shakespeare's Sonnets in their relationship to the travesti-double-plays,* Amsterdam, 1951, pp. 154-182. Unfortunately this work, written in Dutch, contains no summary in one of the universal languages.)

contend that, by so doing, we really recognize the man. We may also observe his behaviour and relate this information to what we know of biology, psychology, and psychopathology. The result of this comparison may be that we distinguish different types of so-called personality-structures. But do we then possess that which Buytendijk has called 'the knowledge of the inner being'? By no means. We know many things about his personality, but we still know nothing at all about his person (in the sense given to this notion by Buytendijk).[4] Real knowledge of our fellow-man is based, and can only be based, on the recognition of another as fundamentally our equal. Only on this basis can our fellow-man be accepted as such, because as a fellow-man he represents to us a value which we can love (taking this word here in its highest, supra-individual meaning). The greatest thinkers have repeatedly told us that we can know only that which we love.

There seems then to be no doubt about the fact that in our time the average heterophile cannot bring himself to concede human recognition to his homophilic fellow—even lacks the capacity to do so. Moreover, it is an alarming fact that within the group of homophiles the real significance of this tragic situation is only too often under-estimated. Those who believe that, with the acquiring of a certain degree of social 'recognition' and 'acceptance', the position of the homophile in this world would cease to be a problem are deceived. Such recognition would be no more than a first step, perhaps important in itself, but still a long way from a real meeting of heterophiles and homophiles on a basis such as I have described.

Broadly speaking, we can divide the efforts towards solution of this problem into two categories, *i.e.* the *centrifugal* and the *centripetal*.

The entire position of being known but not recognized, of eventually being known as a personality but not being accepted as a person, may cause unbearable tensions in the individual. It is a well-known fact that the reaction to this situation is fairly often an excessive, clearly overcompensatory ambition and self-assertiveness. In these circumstances one can imagine that the *centrifugal* tendency may become predominant precisely among some of those whose ambition is fostered and sometimes more or less justified by the possession of great talents. They will then try before others, and in extreme cases also to themselves, to *deny* with more or less success their belonging to the group of homophiles. Above all things they want to be recognized; and indeed a certain 'recognition', giving them some satisfaction, may fall to their lot.

[4] Cf. his *Zür Phaenomenologie der Begegnung*. (On the phenomenology of encounter), Eranos-Jahrbuch (Eranos Yearbook), 1951. Published also in French under the title: *Phénoménologie de la rencontre*, Paris, 1952.

Yet ambition need not always be the driving power when choosing the 'centrifugal' solution. Compared to the whole of society, the group of homophiles is very limited in number. Talents and abilities, perhaps not operating to full advantage within the group, may be of great importance to society as a whole. One could imagine that the 'centrifugal' solution is sometimes chosen with a heavy heart, not because of personal ambition, but because a social interest of a higher order demands this personal sacrifice.

Also, and probably in not a few cases, the grounds for the choice of a 'centrifugal' solution may lie in the actual impossibility of choosing a different one without incurring social ruin. Experience teaches us that in most cases in which the homophile individual chooses the 'centrifugal' solution of denial, an extremely complex and varied set of factors contributes to his decision. We find in it elements of the attitudes described above mixed with numerous others, among which entirely pathological factors play their part, *e.g.* where heavy frustration in making contact with others (often on a masochistic basis) helps to develop the picture of the dissembler-at-all-costs, who sometimes even reacts with vehement aggression to every approach from the side of fellow-homophiles.

In other cases, however, the conditions lead to a development of *centripetal* forces, causing the individual to confess more or less emphatically to the group he belongs to. Here also highly divergent situations are conceivable. One could very well imagine that the position of the homophile group, which is so extremely difficult from the point of view of social and individual psychology, actually induces some homophiles to devote all their talents to the furtherance of this particular group in the full consciousness of perhaps thereby losing great personal opportunities, or even with the knowledge that this choice will prevent them from devoting their talents and capacities also to the furtherance of the community as a whole. Similarly, we may come upon others for whom the choice of the centripetal solution has not really the meaning of a free and independent establishment of a position, but rather of not being able to do otherwise; either on account of a predominating fear of inward loneliness or because, once having committed themselves as homophiles, they are as it were pressed into the group of homophiles by the reaction of their heterophile fellows. One may finally also mention those who, because their capacities are not quite sufficient to achieve great successes in society at large, try to establish a more satisfying position in the smaller group of homophiles. As long as this ambition does not rest on inadequate pretensions they may sometimes play an important part within the group. Here again we should bear in mind that in practice we nearly always meet very complex sets of motives, which may

include factors other than those mentioned above. A too emphatic dedication of oneself to the group of homophiles may sometimes indicate pathological structures.

Since, as I have already indicated, homophiles, considered from the point of view of a collective ideology, are a heterogeneous group, it is needless to add that the phenomena described do not exactly contribute towards a solid socio-psychological unity within the group. Under such conditions its internal structure must necessarily be weak. This is clearly illustrated by the fact that organizations, leagues, centres, etc., of homophiles, which have already been in existence for years, have not so far succeeded in organizing a really sizable percentage of the individuals concerned, however strenuous the efforts in this direction made by courageous pioneers. It would, in my opinion, not be quite correct to impute this lack of success to the circumstance that organizations of this kind are not recognized by the heterophile part of society, and that they are not even taken seriously, except in times of panic and agitation. If it were possible to organize all those who are concerned, such a group, though it represented only a minority, could raise a voice which could hardly remain unheard. On the other hand, one should not exaggerate the common criticism that unity is particularly rare within the circles of the organized. An inwardly consistent group can endure a great deal in this respect and yet remain a factor of importance.

Let us now consider how, in the light of the present conditions, the homophile group itself experiences its position as a minority, known but not accepted; how it gives expression to this experience; and how the majority in its turn reacts to this. We will start with a few observations which, it seems, possess a certain validity for the 'centrifugals' (dissimulants) as for the 'centripetals' (non-dissimulants); after that we will consider separately how both categories deal with these problems.

(a) The group as a whole. However understandable it may be, it must at times be annoying for those who wish to make contact with the problem to discover time and again that this 'unwillingness' (or should we say incapacity?) of the majority to recognize the minority-group is received by many members of the latter with a reaction of similar unwillingness to realize properly what are the inner tensions, at times conscious but much more often unconscious, which prevent the majority from taking a proper detached attitude. At times this disinclination of the minority group shows in frankly aggressive forms, naturally provoking equally aggressive but fiercer reactions from the majority. The onlooker would be inclined to apply to such controversies the well-known proverb: 'Where two quarrel, two are guilty'. More often in homophile circles, however, we meet with

a less aggressive but in essence much more dangerous reaction, viz., shrugging it all off with the statement: 'We *are* different anyhow', which means: we abandon all claim upon the other party's understanding, being thereby ourselves relieved of the task of trying to understand the others and their difficulties.[5]

Here I should like to point out that I am convinced this opinion is an unjustified, defeatist one. It completely ignores the existence of forms and levels of communal humanity, of mutual recognition and respect—distant constellations as yet standing out vaguely but the realization of which is in principle not impossible. Even the most superficial spectator will see at once that these attitudes, assumed by so many homophiles, produce very marked effects within the group itself. Every tendency towards exclusivism and putting up barriers inevitably leads to loss of spontaneity, sometimes itself hardening to a cramp or strain, and—what is even more serious—to a dangerous overrating of the importance of the group as such. Only too often we watch the development of an understandable but fatally dangerous tendency to consider the group as the nucleus of the chosen, finding its complete justification in itself and entitled to ignore the existence of a greater world. How disappointing it must be for those who think in this way, to discover again and again that even in this chosen world of their own, just as everywhere else, kindness, courage and pity flourish alongside unreliability, cowardice and hardness of heart!

This inclination of many homophiles meets, however, with a reaction from the majority which is not satisfactory either. Whereas the homophile reaction is characterized by an over-estimating identification with the group, the majority group on the other hand tends to go to the other extreme, under-estimating the problems in an unfortunate way. Every mutual understanding must be based upon willingness to take one another seriously; and this willingness is almost never to be found in heterophile circles. When one realizes that in the Netherlands the group of manifest homophiles of the age of 18 and older numbers, according to a very cautious and probably too low estimate, about 100,000 men and women, it is astonishing to see the way in which this figure is received in many heterophile circles; the more so as we too often perceive that, even where people are prepared to accept the possible exactness of such estimates, their gravity is insufficiently understood, and interest is limited to lip service.

(b) The dissimulants. It is more than a supposition that the dissimulant, unless he is an extremely integrated personality, lives under the stress of

[5] Sartre says rightly: 'L'important n'est pas ce qu'on fait de nous mais ce que nous faisons nous-même de ce qu'on a fait de nous' (the important thing is not what we are made to be by others but what we are doing ourselves with what we are made to be). *St. Genêt,* Paris, 1952, p. 55.

great inner tensions on account of the position which he has chosen freely, but often maintains only with the greatest effort: it simply is a matter of fact. It is obvious then that the dissimulant-at-any-price needs very heavy counterbalances against the inclination to (re)contact the group to which he really belongs. Among these homophiles are some who, by indefatigable labour and maximal use of their abilities, perform feats of the highest importance in various fields, thereby not making a virtue of necessity, but surely achieving socially creative performances of high standard. It appears to me that the common opinion that homophiles tend to be more intelligent than heterophiles is partly based upon the achievements of such persons who, notwithstanding their self-chosen status of dissimulant, are yet recognized by the members of the homophile group. Whether the average intellectual capacity of the homophiles is indeed greater, in my opinion, could never be proved on such grounds alone, if only because in the present crisis of psychology it has become almost impossible to define 'intellectual capacity'.

The non-dissimulant part of the homophile minority generally determines its attitude to the dissimulant in a rather complicated manner. One might suppose that they would brand the dissimulant as a 'traitor'. In practice, however, it appears that the state of affairs is much more complex. In those cases, where social conditions compel the adoption of a dissimulant attitude on pain of ruin, a certain degree of understanding for the dissimulant exists among non-dissimulants. If the former performs achievements of outstanding importance, this understanding develops into respect, and also through subtle intermediate phases to genuine reverence: as when it is found that the dissimulant effaces himself and his happiness in order to devote himself entirely to work, necessary for the benefit of all, and performed by him in an outstanding fashion. In the last case, we may presume that a certain part is played by group-pride because 'one of us' is putting society under great obligation.

Yet, in my opinion, the above does not apply in cases where the dissimulant goes so far in his renunciation as to deny outright the group to which he belongs, either in the way of developing aggressive contempt, or more indirectly by contracting marriage, with the aim of being accepted as a heterophile by the majority. The attitude to the wife (frankness or deliberate deception) may be an important factor in determining the reaction of the group, which can generally be qualified by the words: aversion, dislike.[6]

Particularly interesting is the reaction of the heterophile to the dissimulant, especially when he attracts general attention by performing great

[6] Much more might be observed about the life of a married homophile: in this content only one highly specific form matters.

cultural or other achievements. As the homophile group seldom errs when 'identifying' a dissimulant as such, likewise tendencies almost always arise among the members of the majority not to accept entirely the person in question as belonging to them. These feelings do not always amount to what heterophile circles unpleasantly hint at as a 'suspicion': they may very well be restricted to that instinctive remaining-at-a-distance which is so well expressed in the English rhyme: 'I do not like you, Dr. Fell, the reason why I cannot tell'. As irrational feelings of this kind are often unacceptable to the conscious mind, it is often the case that the tension discharges itself in a somewhat *too emphatic recognition* of the merits of the dissimulant (a phenomenon also to be observed in a most striking manner with certain forms of latent anti-semitism).[7] It is emphatically maintained that the person in question is a great artist, statesman, scientist, etc., but in a manner from which it is often not very difficult to deduce the (unconscious but for that reason by no means less strenuous) effort to ignore the 'person' himself. The dissimulant from ambition may find this 'acknowledgment' of great importance for the satisfaction of his *emotional* needs. In cases, however, where people dissimulate chiefly for other reasons this will bring little comfort and may even help to deepen the feelings of inner isolation, which makes the lives of many dissimulants so difficult.

(c) The non-dissimulants. Those who from their own free will, knowing the consequences, have committed themselves openly to the homophile group, have various ways of determining their attitude. To take such a far-reaching decision deliberately, fully conscious of their inner freedom to choose one way or the other, presupposes in itself a personality, already fully matured or maturing to full growth. Even so, the very real risks taken form a differentiating factor of great significance. No doubt a man whose financial and material position is unassailable will take such a decision more easily than he who knows that by openly identifying himself with his group he will hazard serious social troubles. In such cases the decision concerned may require a degree of mature, stable courage and deep conviction, such as will be found only rarely, conditions, incidentally, which apply equally to both homophiles and heterophiles.

The non-dissimulants mentioned in this last paragraph may have a very important positive value for fellow-members of their group: for as they, inwardly serene and for the sake of conscience, shoulder the difficult conditions, they can allow themselves a large measure of sympathy for the needs existing among their fellow members. Moreover, one sometimes gets the impression that just these very homophiles, besides possessing serenity,

[7] Cf. Sartre: *Reflections sur la question juive* (Reflections on the Jewish question), Paris, 1947.

patience, helpfulness and true love for their fellows, are able also to develop patience and understanding for the often appallingly unfair judgments and condemnations generally accepted by the majority. For the sake of clarity, I must add that they never take refuge in the apparently sympathetic but in essence shallow sentiment: '*tout savoir c'est tout pardonner*'. On the contrary, wherever they can, they try to clear away the misunderstandings encountered. On the other hand, I think they realize, probably more than many of their comrades, how the rejecting attitude of the majority is built up of a very complex set of factors, among which conscious malignity plays a less important part than stupidity, obtuse ignorance, and above all the workings of those wild, irrational rejecting forces about the origin and operation of which we know more to-day than we did or could do at the beginning of this century. The well-balanced homophile, living in inner freedom his often very difficult life, can afford such broadness of vision, precisely because he has made his deliberate final choice and knows where he stands.

Those who commit themselves openly to the group on the strength of other motives—or are forced to commit themselves to it because, after having been found out as homophiles, they are shunned by the majority—not seldom throw themselves into the homophile world (whether in organized form or not) in a way which suggests an overcompensation of deeply ingrained feelings of insufficiency; feelings which may be, but are not always, socially determined. A too defiant braving of the majority at times goes hand in hand with behaviour which may be rightfully called alarming, but often immediately gives the impression that it is resorted to because of a despairing distress after repeated sad experiences with fellow-men—either hetero- or homophiles. Others again, less aggressive in their attitudes of protest, often restrict their lives to a kind of 'social intercourse' with their companions, though not seldom real conviviality and cordial human contact are lacking.

How much non-dissimulants of this kind are in want of human affection appears in an almost tragic light in the readiness, nearly inconceivable to the remote observer, with which some of them reveal themselves to any person who approaches them in a kindly manner and without immediate condemnation. In these cases they scarcely, if at all, consider whether the listener is indeed able to receive their confidence with understanding. It is therefore not too surprising that it is in the first place these weaker personalities who are inclined to unite in certain circles and clubs. This circumstance involves the fact that in more or less organized entities of that kind an extremely heavy responsibility towards others rests on the stronger and structurally more balanced comrades. I have the impression that, particu-

larly during recent years, this responsibility is taken more and more seriously by a certain number of homophiles, surely a most satisfactory circumstance.

It goes without saying that those who drown themselves in social distractions do not always experience consciously the despair and growing loneliness described above. The 'defiant' types particularly often feel the acknowledgment of such reactions to be dishonourable, and they often succeed in repressing them so completely that they may even deny their existence in all sincerity (although perhaps they deny a little too vehemently).

The tensions which are created by this variegated complex of strongly divergent reactions within the group are known to everyone who has had the opportunity of discussing these problems with the leaders of such organized groups. One cannot escape the impression that in the midst of the many controversies the stronger homophiles, those who are more conscious of their self-reliance and responsibility, need even more patience and humanity in dealing with their companions than they need with members of the majority.

Now how does the heterophile majority react to the non-dissimulant? Very seldom with real acceptance. We have already seen how often even the 'successful' dissimulant is 'left out in the cold' psychologically. The non-dissimulant with mental strength, who goes quietly his way, not wanting to deny belonging to the group, and whose work in society compels admiration, can at best hope for a more or less peevish acknowledgment, which discounts the human being behind his achievements. With how much effort the heterophile majority brings itself even to such a meagre recognition is sometimes curiously illustrated by the whispered gossip—possibly based on the mere fact of his non-dissimulation!—concerning the person's conduct, naturally featuring the saying 'the greater the intellect, the worse the man', especially if people of importance are concerned. Yet the non-dissimulant in question needs hardly, if ever, perceive this gossip directly, for precisely in cultured, intellectual circles we can find a tendency, often raised to the point of sheer snobbishness, to demonstrate eagerly 'modernity', 'broad-mindedness', 'knowing what goes on in the world', a tendency very conducive to the creation of 'spurious recognition'. Towards the non-dissimulants whose personality and grip on life is weaker, an attitude of mocking contempt prevails, or (varying according to the nature and atmosphere of the majority-environment in question) of indignant scorn, at times with such a total lack of human sympathy as can be understood only on the basis of a proper knowledge of its causes, as psycho-analysis teaches them.

Let us now summarize the situation. On the part of the homophile minority group we have found a number of psycho-social determinants, ranging from spasmodic, dangerous and basically tragic defiance shown by weak personalities, clinging desperately to the exclusivism of the group, to quiet, well-balanced self-reliance expressed with great courage and mental strength, and with an attitude of openness towards fellow-creatures.

With the heterophile majority the most far-reaching form of 'accommodation' we find is an appreciation which is felt not to be genuine (for it applies more to the achievements than to the person) and from there a steady decrease, via a peevish 'recognition' for the man whose significance can hardly be overlooked, to straightforward scoffing or indignant contempt for the weaker party with regard to whom one thinks it permissible to forget all scruples or consideration.

Admittedly the account given above can only be deemed adequate if we take our stand on the level of sociology and social psychology. The social determination of individuals (which, however, is never the only one!) and of their reactions has perhaps been stressed a little too much, while one other most important point had to be left out of consideration.

Notwithstanding the strong influence exerted by social and socio-psychological factors on the development of the individual in his function as a member of a society or group, and precisely because these factors are never absolutely determining, the possibility remains for the individual of rising beyond these given restrictions, meeting his neighbour on the basis of mutual openness. From *both* camps, so often opposing each other in armed enmity, individuals from time to time emerge, who, by consistent reflection on the possibilities of elementary human qualities and by application of these reflections in practice, can contact each other, and thereby bridge seemingly unbridgeable gulfs. We have already hinted at the existence of such people, in our discussion concerning the homophile group. Before considering the future we might state explicitly that nowadays the majority group also includes a number of individuals fully prepared to enter into contact with 'the other party' in the way described above.

To be sure our optimism on this last head must be a qualified one, but many great achievements in the world have started with the convinced enthusiasm of a few decried pioneers who had the vision that things should and could be done differently. Those, however, who hold this opinion need no longer have the feeling of standing alone with their convictions. Though the steps on which we are treading are perhaps not yet very solid, the foundation has been laid on which a new way of thinking about man and the world can be erected. Its first stones were given us by visionary

geniuses who, in a historical period seemingly diametrically opposed to their visions, reconsidered anew old and nearly forgotten ideas on God, man and the world. Though at first it seemed as if their voices would fade away without finding an echo or response, great European thinkers, still among us, took these matters in hand again between 1920 and 1940 and confronted a somewhat bewildered world of professional philosophy with the complete and inescapable truth, that man is a human being in the world, living in relationship and existing only *in* this relationship. Already the influence of this view is apparent in many of the sciences dealing with man. From amongst these I would choose the following: —

(a) The science of *sociology* is now becoming gradually aware of many important facts concerning man, which were formerly beyond its horizon or did not receive the attention they deserved. Heated debates develop on the significance of conceptions such as 'value' and 'evaluation'. Many sociologists, followers of Max Weber, still believe that a so-called 'sociology free of values' *(Wertfreie Soziologie)* is conceivable; others, influenced by modern philosophical views, defend the thesis that, in studying a given situation, every sociology evaluates in some way or other, and that the sense of value in itself must be considered to be an eminently important subject for students of sociology and social psychology.[8] If up till now the formulation of opinions as to value within the frame of sociological studies has been a somewhat perilous enterprise, those adhering to the new orientation assert not only that this may be done without any danger, but even that it is always done.

The new viewpoints open vistas for the development of a sociology efficient in action, a sociology that does not dissolve completely into ideology; a sociology, widening its critical attitude with regard to certain scientific problems into critical emotions of sympathy towards mankind. Notably American sociology, being matter of fact and realistic, and having little interest in the philosophical disputes moving the minds of Western Europe, is gradually taking an increasingly critical attitude towards the society it studies. It can hardly cause surprise that precisely in the U.S. minority problems have attracted so much attention during recent times. How could it be otherwise in a country where the negro question is one of the most burning social problems, crying out for a solution? Quite a number of recent American publications have given attention to the minority-problem; and, nearly without exception, they unveil to us somehow, as a kind of emotional undercurrent, the deep concern about conditions which

[8] Cf. F. L. Polak: *Kennen en keuren in de sociale wetenschappen* (Knowing and evaluating in Social Sciences), Leiden, 1948, with a summary in English.

are known (and often quite openly said) to be wrong and to be in need of reform.

That this new mentality is slowly obtaining some foothold in relation to homophily is proved by the publication of the well-known work by D. Webster Cory,[9] to which I may refer the reader for a description of the sociology of the homophile group in U.S.A. That in England, moreover, 50 years after the death of Queen Victoria, a similar sociological study could be issued by G. Westwood,[10] with an introduction by Glover, one of the most prominent progressive British psychopathologists, who has also won great recognition in the social and forensic fields, may likewise be mentioned as a sign that broadening of minds and humanization gradually are gaining upon abstract scientific doctrinairism.

(b) The epoch-making work of Kinsey, Martin and Pomeroy is an impressive example of how modern *biology*, using means which properly speaking all originate from the old school, but using and handling them here in a completely unorthodox way, can force a breach through the purely scientific attitude and turn itself directly to man as a biological being, with everything belonging thereto, living in a world in which he has to make use of the biological data as a very important aspect of his design of existence.

With regard to this study the criticism has been repeatedly expressed, that the human love-life surely presents other, and more important, aspects than a purely biological one. Of course this criticism is in itself quite indisputable. But as a criticism of Kinsey, it lacks all foundation. It is striking, that precisely in non-biological circles, where this objection is mostly heard, it has not been realized that Kinsey's work is of tremendous importance in breaking through the biological trend of thought as it has been practised up till now.

(c) Both *psychology* and *psychopathology* have for years been in a state of slow but most radical revolution. Naturalistic philosophy had finally driven these sciences into a deadlock out of which, in my opinion, they could be liberated only by a completely new choice of position on the basis of existentialist philosophy. Among many other modifications the tendency exists to broaden views on 'man' and 'woman' (which up till now have been purely descriptive) into reflections on 'male and female elements in man', phenomena moreover approached to-day in a way completely different from that adopted in the past. The process of *entering into living contact with the psychological totality of others*, as phenomenological psychology tries to do, seems to promise better results than the analytical

[9] Donald Webster Cory: *The Homosexual in America; a subjective approach*, New York, 1951.

[10] Gordon Westwood: *Society and the Homosexual*, London, Gollancz, 1952.

determination of the components, from which the totality formerly was said to be ' constructed ', though we are beginning to realize more and more that the importance of the totality qualitatively exceeds the sum of the components.

New vistas are revealed to psychopathology also therapeutically and it must be stated here that this would not have been possible without the discoveries made by Freud and his followers, which, however, under the influence of too strong a domination by the doctrines of natural science, as psychoanalysis applied it, were gradually becoming a hindrance instead of a moving power. It is chiefly through the epoch-making work of the so-called Swiss School, that since about 1930 revolutionary changes have been taking place in psychiatric thinking, which contribute greatly to a broadening and deepening of views, as they have done in psychology.

One of the most important fields in psychopathology, in which these changes have operated, comprises the theory (and therapy) of so-called ' sexual deviations '. Until the appearance of the phenomenological or ' daseins-analytical ' psychiatry, psychiatry hardly knew what to do with these conditions, so ' curious ' in the eyes of many people. Whereas it was vaguely felt by many that the most important aspect of these anomalies, *i.e.* the question how the patient himself experiences his ' being different ', was neither discussed nor estimated at its value, one continued to look upon the particular forms of sexual and erotic life as ' deviations ' from a certain standard, that is, not as phenomena in their own right. For the ' daseins-analytical ' school such a starting point was bound to be unacceptable, this school laying all stress upon the physician's duty (whether in treating a patient or in reporting on a sex delinquent) to contact the patient's ' *own* world ', *i.e.* that in which the patient experiences himself as facing the outer world in his own way. Profound studies, based on the conviction thus stressed, led to a conclusion, highly surprising to many, that diagnosis and classification of ' sexual deviations ' is a meaningless occupation because we are dealing with a series of exceptional ways in which the individual in question tries, by means of the modes of expression available to him, to achieve essentially the same aim as the so-called ' normal ' person, namely to realize his own love-reality. This is why the antithesis of ' normal versus abnormal ', which suppresses and prevents all deeper probing, is gradually being replaced by a more differentiated approach, designating these particular forms of erotic and sexual life as being ' different, but ultimately striving after an identical aim '. The fact that this striving is sometimes expressed by means which are socially unacceptable (sadism, pædophilia, certain forms of fetishism, etc.) detracts nothing from the enormous value of this view, which has considerably deepened the *understanding* of those

special forms of sexual and erotic life. It is difficult to over-estimate what this means for therapy. Whereas older schools of psychopathology, up to and including psychoanalysis, restricted themselves to methods of suggestion and training or, whenever possible, to a reconstruction of the totality of urges, thereby ignoring the characteristic of suffering actually experienced by the patient—modern psychotherapy seems, in my opinion, to take this for its starting point. More and more it represents the view that in these cases we are never dealing with partial 'queernesses', 'deviations', 'disturbances', but that the special forms of erotic and sexual life constitute particular modes of human existence. In cases in which the individual suffers because of their pursuit, and therefore calls in psychiatric aid, they can be modified only if the patient, after having with the help of the psychiatrist[11] become aware of his potentialities in this respect, takes a new stand with regard to his life in its *totality*.

(d) To give one last example of a science in which new light is breaking, I would mention modern *existential philosophy*, a subject with which I ought really to have started, for, in my opinion, it is this philosophy chiefly which has widened deeply the breaches in the fields of psychology and psychiatry.

When in the middle of the past century Kierkegaard came to the conclusion that philosophy is a thing to be lived, and not a matter of constructing logical arguments and tallying schemes at a safe distance from all emotionality; when in his work he gave expression to the unprecedented opinion that such pre-eminently human emotions as 'fear and trembling' are by no means unworthy of such a personally *lived* philosophy, as professed by him; when after that Brentano posited that thinking about man's Being (seen as a static phenomenon) might be less important than thinking about man as a being living-up-to-something; and when finally Husserl demonstrated the insufficiency of logical deduction when the issue involves contact with human life, viewed as planning dynamism; then at last the way was free for the work of a Heidegger, the founder of modern existentialist philosophy. In contradiction to all older schools he professed the opinion that one cannot speak of the Being of man as essence, but that man *is* only in his Ek-sistence, *i.e.* in the continuous becoming, resulting from the fact that he always surpasses himself, 'steps beyond himself', that is to say, that he *is* only in the situation, in the relationship, in the meeting with others.

[11] On all these problems cf. M. Boss: *Sinn und Gehalt der sexuellen Perversionen*, 2e Auflage, Bern, 1952. A translation into English has been published in U.S.A. under the title: *Meaning and Content of Sexual Perversions. A Daseins-analytic approach to the psychopathology of the phenomenon of love*, New York, 1952.

If this evolution of philosophy is correlated with changes of direction in psychology and psychopathology, it will, in my opinion, become apparent how this new orientation was bound to mean a liberation and fertilization in one. It is not surprising, indeed, that both in France and in Switzerland, these philosophical achievements have given rise to reorientation in the fields of psychology and psychiatry. Names such as those of Sartre and Binswanger have become portents to the philosopher as well as to the psychologist and psychopathologist.

A few years before the Second World War a German psychologist of standing opened one of his studies with the following text: 'Truth is at stake'. Scientific thought has searched for truth with a persistence, a knowledge and a love of its profession which will always evoke our profoundest admiration. But while searching so fervently after truth one has more and more lost sight of the fact that all this searching is and remains vain as long as one does not go to meet his fellow-man, not in order to 'objectivate' him, not in order to turn him into a 'scientific problem', but with the aim of meeting him on the only ground where there is sense in meeting: in a state of real communication.

Homophile man is a scientific problem with which psychology, psychopathology, biology and sociology have dealt with equal zeal. Up till now the results of these efforts have been so alarmingly small that one would be tempted to call them ridiculous were it not that, in view of the gravity of the problems, this judgment would appear too rash. May everybody, and in the first place the members of the homophile group, so often disappointed by science, realize that new vistas are in sight and that those goals will be reached when the necessity of contacting one another in *mutual* openness is realized by men of good will—and, in spite of appearances, there are many of these. Then, but then only, Truth about man can be disclosed. In the meantime, we may appropriately quote the words written by one of the greatest minds of the 19th century: '*La verité est en marche, et rien ne l' arrêtera*'!

RECENT TRENDS IN THE CRIMINAL LAW AND PENAL SYSTEM IN NORWAY

PART I

CRIMINAL LAW

By JOHS ANDENAES (Oslo)

The great reform period in Norwegian criminal law was around the turn of the century. Modern principles of criminal procedure were introduced by the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1887. The draftsmen of the Code were strongly influenced by British ideas, and especially the introduction of the jury in more serious criminal cases is due to this influence. The Penal Code dates from 1902. It was preceded by two other important statutes, drafted by the same Commission under the chairmanship of the Attorney-General, Mr. Bernhard Getz; namely, the Act concerning the Treatment of Neglected Children, 1896, and the Act concerning Vagrancy, Mendicity and Inebriety, 1900. Whereas the old Criminal Code of 1842 was based on the theory of deterrence, the new legislation, in the words of Mr. Getz himself, aimed at 'setting up a whole system of institutions by which the State can seek to combat crime at its source or upon its manifestation in a manner adapted to each age group and category of crime.' To this end it introduced, besides the traditional punishments, a system of non-penal measures for cases where ordinary punishment seemed unsuitable, especially mental deficiency, persistent recidivism, vagrancy and drunkenness.

Although this criminal legislation in its time was considered as perhaps the most modern in Europe, many changes have been made to keep the system up to date. Since 1922 commissions on reform of the Criminal Code have been working almost continuously. The present Penal Code Commission can be regarded as a permanent advisory body to the Ministry of Justice in all matters concerning legislation in the field of criminal justice. The Commission has four permanent members (a judge, the Attorney-General, a professor of criminal law, and a barrister) but experts from different fields, such as social welfare and psychiatry, are called as additional members when the subject under consideration requires more than legal insight.

The rate of crime has never been alarming in Norway and developments in recent years have been rather satisfactory. During the German occupation 1940–45 the figures of criminal statistics increased heavily, but after the war the situation improved from year to year, and the figures for 1949 and

1950 are actually a little below the pre-war level. The planning of penal reforms has therefore proceeded in a more calm and normal atmosphere than in many other countries during this period. Nevertheless there is a strong public interest in the treatment of offenders, especially the treatment of young offenders. The prevailing approach could be fairly described as one of social prophylaxis and psychological treatment rather than one of sheer repression.

I suppose a foreign observer would find social conditions in Norway rather peaceful and criminal justice rather lenient—certainly no mere coincidence. Long sentences of imprisonment are relatively rare. In the years 1949–50, out of 5,776 prison sentences, only 65 were for more than three years, and only 9 for more than six years. The conditional sentence (*i.e.*, suspension of the imposed punishment on condition of good behaviour and the fulfilment of such other special requirements as the court finds convenient) is very liberally applied. Thus, in the years 1950–51, about 77 per cent. first offenders with a prison sentence were sentenced conditionally. An interesting feature of Norwegian law is the power of the public prosecutor to waive the prosecution if he finds that no public interest makes prosecution necessary. In this way many minor offenders are spared the stigma of conviction; but occasionally in more serious cases the prosecution is waived owing to special circumstances.

The death penalty was abolished in the Civilian Criminal Code of 1902 for ordinary crimes, including murder, but it was retained in the Military Criminal Code for serious acts of treason in war-time. In view of the serious international situation the chapters of the Criminal Code dealing with treason and kindred offences were amended in 1950. In accordance with a proposal of the Penal Code Commission a government bill was submitted introducing the death penalty in the Civilian Criminal Code for these crimes, but this met with very strong opposition. The discussion, which aroused great public interest, ended with a compromise: the application of the death penalty was somewhat extended, so as to safeguard the security of the State, but the provisions were placed in the Military Penal Code, so as to stress that the community does not apply the death penalty as an ordinary means of combating crime.

The Criminal Code of 1902 also abolished corporal punishment, which had up to that time been applied to children between ten and fifteen years. It is an indication of the general disapproval of corporal punishment that in course of time such punishment has been absolutely forbidden in schools, school homes, prisons, and other institutions.

In one respect, however, Norwegian law has not carried regard for the corporal integrity of the individual as far as does English law. Under a

statute of 1934, a sexual operation (castration or sterilization) may be performed upon any person at his own request if there are reasonable grounds for such request. The law thus provides the possibility of castration of a sexual offender, not as a punishment for his crime, but as a medical treatment undertaken at the request of the offender and in his own interest. As experience proves that castration reduces to a minimum the risk of relapsing into criminality, the operation may render unnecessary further security measures which would otherwise have been indispensable.

An interesting feature of Norwegian law, which has recently been under revision, is the treatment of delinquent children and young offenders. The Act of 1896, which has been mentioned above, introduced the system of Child Welfare Boards. This was an innovation, but later the other Scandinavian countries adopted the same system. The principle has won general approval, and the new Child Welfare Act of June 1953,[1] which has replaced the old Act, represents a modernization and further development of the system. In each community a Child Welfare Board is established, consisting of five members chosen by the municipal council from among men and women with special insight and interest in child welfare work. In the greater municipalities the Board has a stipendiary chairman who must have the qualifications of a judge. The Child Welfare Board is regarded as an administrative agency, not as a court, and has many other tasks besides dealing with delinquent children. In the new Act the Board is made a central agency for all kinds of child care in the municipality, and this is done not only in order to make administration more efficient, but also to emphasize that the Child Welfare Board is an institution of social welfare, not one of criminal justice. The central administration of the Child Welfare Boards lies with the Ministry of Social Welfare.

The age limit of criminal responsibility is fourteen years. Delinquent children under this age are therefore always handled by the Child Welfare Board, not by the courts. The Child Welfare Board, however, is also competent for older children. Originally the limit was put at sixteen, but the Act was amended in 1930 to cover two more years. If the Board intervenes before the young person is eighteen years of age, its authority over him can be extended until he reaches the age of twenty-one. Whether a delinquent between fourteen and eighteen shall appear before the Child Welfare Board or before the ordinary Criminal Court is left to the discretion of the Public Prosecutor. In the great majority of cases he decides to waive judicial prosecution and hand the case over to the Child Welfare Board, which then decides what shall be done. In the years 1949 and 1950 only

[1] An English translation of this Act has been made available by United Nations (Ed.).

about 100 out of 1,000 delinquents between fourteen and eighteen years were brought before the criminal courts, and only 23 of them were sentenced to unconditional imprisonment.

The proceedings of the Child Welfare Board are held *in camera*. Press reporters are not admitted. The child itself, its parents, or guardians, are allowed to be present and to express their views, but otherwise no formal rules of procedure are given. The Act stresses the necessity of social investigations being made by qualified social workers, who are to be at the disposal of the Board. The Board can put the child and the home under supervision by a municipal probation officer or other suitable person, arrange a programme of education or vocational training without removing the child from his home, or adopt other measures of a similar kind. Only if measures of this kind are considered useless, the Board has the power to remove the child from the home and send it to a foster home, a children's home, an observation home or a specialized school for children with adjustment difficulties (formerly ' school home '). In this way the new Act emphasizes that removal from the home and placing in an institution should be the last resort. The Act also stresses the need for skilled after-care of children who have been removed from their homes.

It may provoke some misgiving that an administrative agency like the Child Welfare Board should decide not only the measures to be taken, but also the question of guilt. In practice the problem does not seem to be of great importance. In the overwhelming majority of cases coming before the Child Welfare Boards the criminal act is admitted and established beyond doubt. When the question is raised whether the child is to be removed from the home, the district judge joins the Board as chairman if the Board does not have a stipendiary chairman with the qualifications of a judge. Furthermore, an appeal against the decision of the Board can be made to the Ministry and, if the parents or the guardian of the child do not agree with the Board's findings of fact, they can take action before the civil courts to have the decision quashed.

Through the Act concerning educational treatment of young offenders,[2] the principle of education instead of punishment is to a certain degree extended to the age groups 18–23, but here the decision lies with the ordinary criminal courts.

Another subject of great interest is the treatment of mentally abnormal offenders and of dangerous or persistent recidivists. For these categories the Penal Code as amended in 1929 provides for non-penal measures in addition to or instead of punishment.[3] The amendment of 1929 also dealt

[2] See Section II.
[3] See Section III.

with the rules of criminal responsibility and introduced a purely medical system. If the offender is insane (psychotic) in the psychiatric sense of the word, he is exempt from criminal liability without the necessity of inquiring into his understanding of or motive for the particular offence laid to his charge. If the state of mind of the offender is likely to lead to the commission of further offences, security measures can, of course, be applied.

In order to facilitate the social readjustment of the culprit, an amendment of June 1953 to the Penal Code has radically restricted the forfeiture of civic rights. Before the amendment, loss of suffrage or of the right to hold a public office was frequently imposed as a supplementary punishment but, according to the new provisions, this can in future only be done in cases of treason and some other offences which in normal times occur very rarely.

Finally, I wish to refer briefly to some reforms which are at present under consideration by the Government, and which may illustrate the main trend of development.

A report of 1952 from the Penal Code Commission concerning conditional sentences proposes the introduction of a conditional sentence without the fixing of a penalty as an alternative to the traditional Continental form. A conditional sentence can be combined with an order for supervision and, when this is done, the new form of conditional sentence will practically correspond to British probation. If the sentence does not include an order for supervision, it will correspond to the British conditional discharge. The idea is that the court should have the right to choose between the traditional Continental system and the Anglo-American system, and allow experience to decide which form is preferable. The report also advocates the abolition of the present restrictions on the application of conditional sentence, especially in cases of recidivism. Further, the report stresses the need for a skilled and well developed probation service, a point where much is to be learned from the British example.

Another report of the Commission submitted in 1953 deals with homosexual offences. At present homosexual intercourse between males is punishable, but in practice the offence is prosecuted very rarely, and only when young persons have been abused. The report proposes to abolish the general penalization of homosexual intercourse between adults, such intercourse being regarded as a private matter with which the penal law should not interfere. On the other hand, the Commission has drafted provisions to protect young people up to twenty-one against seduction by older persons, and to prohibit the activities of the homosexuals' clubs, societies and publications.

The report of another official commission deals with the treatment of alcohol and drug addicts. Without going into detail in this complex subject

it can be briefly said that the recommendations of the report go in the direction of less penal repression and more social and medical care.

As will be seen from this brief outline, there is at present in Norway great activity in the field of criminal policy. Sources of inspiration are found in Swedish reform work in recent years, and also in the British Criminal Justice Act, especially where probation is concerned. The greatest difficulty, here as everywhere, is not to formulate precise statutes and declarations of principle, but to provide the modern institutions and the skilful and progressive personnel which are indispensable for the rational as well as humane treatment of criminals.

Part II

POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT IN THE PRISON SYSTEM

By Johannes Halvorsen (Oslo)

In the immediate post-war period, the Prison Service had to provide for a large number of persons who were arrested for collaborating with the enemy and with the Norwegian Nazi authorities during the occupation. The ordinary prisons were filled, and a considerable number of provisional camps had to be organized. Some 20,000 persons were sentenced to imprisonment. Only an insignificant number of these are left, and the Prison Service has now returned to normal conditions. This extraordinary task, together with other post-war circumstances, has, however, considerably delayed reform work in the prisons. In 1951 a Reform Committee was set up, and its recommendations may be expected in 1954.

As Professor Andenaes has pointed out in the preceding article, there has been a decrease in the number of offences during the last years. The daily average of the prison population has been as follows (persons sentenced for collaboration not included):—

Year	*Imprison-ment*	*Detention*	*Failing Payment of Fines*	*Forced Labour*	*Others*	*Total*
1945–46	627	119	140	228	590	1,704
1946–47	710	110	223	213	571	1,827
1947–48	713	94	214	282	544	1,847
1948–49	671	77	252	364	497	1,861
1949–50	631	73	249	342	432	1,727
1950–51	619	96	211	309	401	1,636
1951–52	621	114	192	286	398	1,611

The low figures in 1945–46 are due to the extraordinary conditions in that year of the Liberation, and the subsequent increase is due to the fact that the prosecuting authority and the courts had been overloaded with the large number of collaboration cases. There was a delay in the handling of ordinary criminal cases, which was later reflected in the prison statistics.

The column ' Detention ' comprises security detention of abnormal offenders and a very small number of cases of preventive detention of recidivists. The increase in recent years is probably due to the fact that, since the opening of a special institution for security detention, the courts have been more inclined than before to use detention instead of imprisonment.

' Forced labour ' is the measure adopted against habitual drunkards and vagrants, and the figures in this column include also a number of persons of this type who have served their imprisonment in the Forced Labour Institutions.

The largest group in the column ' Others ' comprises persons who are detained for trial.

The most important projects which have been launched since the war are the adaptation of the Ila prison as a special institution for abnormal criminals and the erection of a Training School for young male offenders.[4] I shall only refer briefly to the Training School at Berg.

The Act authorizing the school dates from 1928 and has been amended in 1939 and 1951. It came into force on the 1st September, 1951. Commitment to the school is technically not a punishment but takes the place of imprisonment. Such commitment can only be determined by a court and only when the boy has been found guilty of one or more felonies. In deciding upon the case, the court, bearing in mind the defendant's character, conduct and record, has to consider whether there is reason to believe that he needs training and the educational influence of the school to prevent him from committing new offences; further, whether the Training School is suitable to his needs. Before the decision is made, the defendant has to undergo a psychiatric and social examination, and if necessary also a psychological examination. It is a further condition that the Prosecuting Authority shall have made a request for such commitment; otherwise it cannot be ordered by the court. But the court may reject the proposal if it does not agree to a commitment, and sentence the boy to ordinary imprisonment. The reason for this provision is that it has been found necessary to have a central agency controlling the selection of pupils and thus ensuring that too heterogeneous types of boys shall not be brought together in this entirely open institution.

The purpose of the school is to develop the working habits of the boys

[4] See Section III.

and further their moral and physical development. They are given vocational training which fulfils the requirements of an ordinary vocational school, and also class education. Arrangements are made for lectures and entertainment, and the boys can occupy themselves with hobbies and sports. They may be allowed short leave of absence as a part of their treatment. As a part of their practical training the boys may also be allowed to work in factories outside the institution. The school has neither wall nor fence. The pupils are housed in single rooms in three buildings with accommodation for 20 in each, the total capacity thus being 60. There is a common room and a sports ground, fairly well-equipped workshops, and a farm.

The commitment is for a period of two years: then the boy is released on probation. The warden of the school is authorized to release the boy up to six months before the expiration of the term of two years if he thinks that the purpose of the treatment has been reached. On the other hand, a boy may be detained at the school up to one year after the term of two years has expired. The decision is made by the Ministry of Justice. If the boy violates the probation rules in the course of three years after his release, he may be sent back to the school for a period of up to one year. Pupils behaving so badly that they are considered unsuitable for treatment in the school may be temporarily transferred to an ordinary prison. Such transfers are made by the Ministry of Justice at the suggestion of the warden.

We have to admit that up to now the institution has not been entirely successful. In spite of the quite extensive rules safeguarding the selection of pupils for the school, it is inevitable that some boys are committed to the school who are unable to respond favourably to open treatment. So far the school has received 25 boys. No less than ten have escaped and five of these have had to be transferred to prison, several of them having committed new crimes while at large. It seems likely that it will be necessary to reconsider whether it is possible to run the school without having a closed unit annexed to it.

Before the opening of the Ila Protective Institution persons who were sentenced to preventive detention and to security measures were committed to the ordinary penitentiaries, some of them even to the Forced Labour Institutions. Since Ila came into operation we have been able to secure better differentiation between the various categories. The mixture of all types in the Central Penitentiary and at Opstad, which is the biggest Forced Labour Institution, has not been fortunate; but the low figures after the war have made it possible to reserve the various institutions for the kind of population for which they were intended. This has particularly been an advantage for Opstad, which is now only used for the treatment of alcohol addicts and vagrancy cases. It has also been possible to abolish one of the

two Central Penitentiaries, the old Akershus Prison, so that now only one central institution is kept in Norway for all persons sentenced to imprisonment for more than six months. This institution has been expanded by the provision of an open camp for the treatment of about 100 of its population of approximately 330.

The post-war years have seen the introduction of special social workers in the Prison Service, and a psychiatric and social examination of the prisoners on reception in the institutions. So far this examination has been introduced only in the Ila Protective Institution and the Berg Training School, but it will be extended to the Central Penitentiary and also to Opstad.

Of late years there has been a considerable change in the treatment of the prisoners. Of all prisoners sentenced to more than six months' imprisonment, approximately one-third are serving their term in open conditions. In all prisons the inmates are allowed better earnings, their labour being to a large degree paid for on a piece-work basis. They are allowed newspapers and periodicals, the cells are equipped with radio sets, the old progressive system has been abolished in all institutions, and perhaps most important of all from the prisoner's point of view—smoking is allowed.

In conclusion, I should like to mention that work is now in hand for the replacement of some of the local prisons which were destroyed during the war. The other local prisons are mostly very old and unsatisfactory. Some of them have been furnished with better working facilities and better sanitary installations. Plans for the further modernization of the old Central Penitentiary are now being worked out. It is hoped that this will make it possible to provide for better educational facilities and more leisure activities.

Part III

SECURITY MEASURES

By Th. Kjolstad (Ila, Oslo)

The Norwegian Act concerning security measures and preventive detention became effective on the 22nd February, 1929. Its provisions have been incorporated in paragraphs 39 and 39a of the Norwegian Penal Code. According to the Act, the court may commit a delinquent to security measures on the following conditions: if a person who has committed a crime was insane (psychotic) or in a state of unconsciousness or was mentally undeveloped or mentally deranged at the time of the act; and if there is reason to believe that new crimes will be committed as a result of the delinquent's state of mind, the court may authorize the Prosecution Authority to impose

certain restrictions on this person, namely: (*a*) compelling, or forbidding, him to stay in a certain place; (*b*) putting him under supervision by the police or a specially appointed supervisor, and ordering him to appear personally before the supervision officer at certain times; (*c*) forbidding him to drink alcohol in any form; (*d*) placing him in satisfactory private care; (*e*) placing him in a mental hospital, an institution for treatment or care, or a penal workhouse; (*f*) detaining him in prison.

If there is reason to believe that serious crimes will be committed, the court is *obliged* to authorize the Prosecution Authority as described. The court decides the maximum duration of the security measures. These cannot be extended without the court's consent, but they may be cut short by the Ministry of Justice if they are not considered to be necessary any longer. If the delinquent is sentenced by the court to imprisonment and security measures, the Ministry of Justice can forego the imprisonment from the time the security measures are applied. The security measures cannot be imposed on a delinquent unless he has been examined by two appointed psychiatrists and these have found that the delinquent is in a state of mind as described. If the delinquent is normal, but an habitual offender, and the court finds reason to believe that he will commit new and serious crimes, the court can decide that the delinquent is to be kept in preventive detention after he has served his prison sentence. The court will decide for what maximum period he shall be under preventive detention.

Since this law was enforced there has been a steady increase in the number of persons sentenced to security measures, but a decrease in the number sentenced to preventive detention. There was a large number of the latter in the first years after 1929. In my opinion most of the delinquents sentenced to preventive detention would, if they had been examined, have exhibited a state of mind such that the court could have imposed security measures instead of preventive detention.

During the first years after the Act was enforced, the old institutions, mostly the penal workhouses at Opstad and Sem, were used as places of detention. On the 1st January, 1951, a new institution was opened at Ila, near Oslo. This institution has an interesting history. Originally built as a prison for female offenders, it was ready, but not used, before the Germans invaded Norway in April 1940. During the five years of occupation, Ila, or Grini as it was then called, served as a concentration camp. Large barracks were built and, at its worst, the camp had a little over 6,000 prisoners. After the liberation in May 1945, the institution was used as a prison for war traitors and collaborators till the end of 1950. During the last two years of this period most of the barracks were demolished, and a few burned down by accident. As mentioned above, the institution has been in use as a

security detention centre since January 1951. It is situated about six miles from Oslo but, being surrounded by forest, it has a secluded location. The institution includes one main building with all the offices and 90 single rooms for the inmates, divided into six units. Further, there is a gymnasium and a kitchen, and a hospital ward for 12 beds. In a little brick building 25 yards away there is a small unit of 11 single rooms used for segregation. There is also an open section with rooms for 16 inmates. The workshops are placed in two barracks. There is a farm and six greenhouses. The lodging houses and the workshops are enclosed by a fence of barbed wire, but this is easy to penetrate. Around the whole area is another fence, likewise of little or no value for the prevention of escapes. The staff at Ila consists of 73 officers, of whom about 40 are occupied in the custodial service; the rest are administration and advisory officers and officers supervizing the work and mechanical service. There are two physicians, both psychiatrists.

The institution now holds about 100 inmates. They are of very different kinds. Most of them are habitual offenders who have served many prison sentences and are used to institutional life. The majority have been sentenced to security measures; only a few have been sentenced to preventive detention. There are also a few who serve their prison sentence at Ila, because they have been too difficult to handle elsewhere. Many have had other security measures imposed on them before they were ultimately sent to Ila. Of the first 150 inmates received, 37 were convicted for larceney and 23 for burglary. In addition to this, 32 were convicted for larceny as a contributory offence. Ten were convicted for forgery, three for assault and robbery, 13 for assault, and 7 for manslaughter, 4 for rape or attempted rape, 16 for acts of indecency against children, and 8 for various obscenities. Six were convicted for arson. The fact that crime against property is so frequent is not surprising, as these offences constitute about 85 per cent. of all offences in Norway.

The ages of the inmates vary too much, and the average age (37 years) is too high, considering that success depends largely on early treatment. More than two-thirds have lived in bad surroundings, and more than 75 per cent. have abused alcohol occasionally or habitually. The intelligence of the inmates has been tested in different ways and the results have been compared with the inmate's behaviour in each case. There is a marked underdevelopment of the intelligence of the inmates as compared with the average intelligence level of the population in Norway. The tests in use have given good concordance. The tests used for intelligence rating are: (1) A Norwegian test constructed by Dr. Lofthus. This is based on the Binet–Simon test and is standardized on Norwegian children of school age. (2) The Point Scale

test, modified by Wahlen, Sweden, and translated into Norwegian. Standardized in Sweden on conscripts. (3) Professor Sandven's group test, standardized on Norwegian conscripts. The Rorschach test has been applied to a few inmates, and we should wish to extend its use. Occasionally the inmates are tested by the Psykotecnic Institute of Oslo, to give us an idea of the subject's ability to learn a trade.

The most conspicuous character traits found among the 150 new inmates mentioned were lack of normal balance, instability, explosive temperament, asociality and sexual perversion. Three cases were definitely schizophrenic and five may become schizophrenics.

In accordance with the view that crime starts in childhood, information regarding the new inmate's childhood is obtained. It is to be noted that very few have been engaged in boy gangs. Fines for drunkenness have been very common, and it is obvious that society has been lenient in applying penal measures on addicts. The crimes committed are mostly crimes against property; there are many sexual offenders. Some of the inmates have physical defects that have been of some importance to thei character development.

What happens to the new inmate at Ila? On entering the institution he is examined physically, and a short interview takes place to give an idea of the man's habits and probable behaviour. His wishes regarding work are also considered. If he is physically fit, he will be given work according to his preference and, if he turns out to be capable, he will usually continue at that work during his stay. Most of the inmates, however, are anything but stable at their work, and transfers to other kinds occur every day. After 8–10 weeks, by which time the inmate has settled down, work starts on his 'admission report'. This consists of a life story, as complete as possible, also the facts disclosed during the long interviews with the psychiatrist, and a short survey of his behaviour in the institution. This report is laid before the first weekly staff meeting, and the plan for the inmate's future worked out, if possible. If the inmate desires it, he can be present at the staff meeting when his case is discussed. At the staff meeting the duration of the inmate's stay at Ila is approximately determined, provided the inmate behaves according to our wishes, and that he really tries to do his best. The inmate is told that his behaviour is of decisive importance to the question of his release. The first aim of the treatment at Ila is to make a stable worker of the inmate. If he shows some skill and interest in his work he has every possible help to learn a trade. We neglect no opportunity to inform the inmate that the first condition of release is that he can work for his living and is ready to do so.

At the interviews with the psychiatrist in charge, the inmate is told about

his character and its defects, and is told how to correct these or to compensate for them. If the inmate is willing to try, he is given every opportunity in the line of analytical approach; narco-analysis is used only with the inmate's consent after he is told what he will go through. In a few cases we have used electroshock, but with poor results. Lobotomy has been discussed in some cases, but not performed yet. Castration is resorted to only with the consent of the inmate, and has so far been performed in one case; two had been castrated before they entered Ila. In some cases we put a certain amount of pressure on the inmate by telling him that he will not be released unless he is willing to be castrated.

The average stay at Ila has hitherto been about one year, or a little less, but this is due to the fact that many of the inmates who first entered Ila had a very short time left of their sentences. We expect that the average stay will increase to about two years. When an inmate has stayed at Ila for 4–6 months, he is usually granted leave. This is not permitted unless the institution receives an application from the inmate's family or a close friend and the institution has had opportunity to investigate the application. If possible, one of the officers of the institution pays a visit to the applicant and often the inmate on his first leave is accompanied by an officer. If the leave turns out well, the inmate is given the chance of a new leave after eight weeks. Until now the results have been good, and less than 5 per cent. have proved undeserving of their leave.

When we find that the inmate is mature enough to try life outside the institution, the first steps are taken to start him off on a new career. If possible, we find work for him that corresponds to his abilities and wishes, and everyone who is released is assigned to some work. As a transition stage the inmate in some cases is permitted to take work outside the institution before he is released. In that case he must pay a small amount of his wages for his maintenance there. After his release the inmate is kept under supervision—if possible by one of the officers of the institution. The aftercare is limited by lack of staff, and by geographical conditions. As the institution has been in use for only two years, it is too early to say anything about the results, but since most of the inmates are habitual offenders, many of them must be considered as hopeless cases. Still, we are inclined to think that the results will be better than they have been with the usual prison treatment.

ESTABLISHING RELATIONS WITH ANTI-SOCIAL GROUPS AND AN ANALYSIS OF THEIR STRUCTURE

By LLOYD T. DELANY (PHILADELPHIA)

This paper is in two parts. Part I proposes to describe how relations are established with street gangs.[1] Part II describes the internal structure and leadership functions of anti-social groups.

PART I

Street fighting is a by-product of gang life. In the early '40s and probably related to the fact that a world war was then raging, teen-age warfare took a new and more serious direction in the United States. Simultaneously throughout the country, adolescent groups in our large cities began to use lethal weapons. Some were home-made, fashioned out of wood, small piping and rubber bands. Others, of a more standard make, were acquired from older brothers and friends returning with 'war souvenirs'. In the span of a few years gang activity was taking a serious toll in the lives of its members. The 'Zoot Suit' riots of 1943 in Los Angeles received nation-wide attention (11). As a result of these and other incidents, certain segments of social work, psychological services, and other allied fields were spurred to re-examine past attempts at working with teen-age clubs. Out of these studies, an approach evolved that has at varying times been described as 'area work, detached work, or street club work' (2, 7 p. 100–101, 3, 11). Basic to the approach is the requirement that the practitioner spend most of his time working with the group in its own setting, that is, its local candy store hang-out, street corner, or cellar club room.

ESTABLISHING THE RELATIONSHIP

There are generally three stages involved in building a working relationship with an anti-social street group (3). The first is locating the specific hang-out spots of the gang; the second is establishing actual contact; the

[1] The term gang is never used by members of such groups or by people working with them. The term club is used by both members and workers. In this paper, group, street club, and for purposes of clarity, gang, are used interchangeably.

third and most important is gaining the gang's confidence and acceptance.

Locating the Gang: Location of the street club requires an extensive and exhaustive survey of the community in which the gang is reported to operate. Although much information about the operations of anti-social groups is available from the police, district attorney's office, and other public agencies, it is important to supplement this information by visits to local schools, social agencies, business establishments, churches, playgrounds, etc., etc. Names of groups and their members are carefully copied from walls of buildings. Many hours are spent walking up and down avenues and streets observing adolescent grouping in the area. Eventually one or two specific places are selected and the attempt to contact the group is initiated.

Contacting the Gang: Contacting the gang can be done in several ways (2, 11, 13). If the group is using a community centre, the worker may assume the character of a ' volunteer '. In this approach it is important that the gang's attitude towards the centre should be an accepting one. Using the agency as a starting point, it is possible gradually to spend more and more time with the street club in its street hang-outs. Most anti-social groups avoid established centres, or use them so sporadically that establishing contact within the agency is impossible. In fact this is one of the major reasons why the far more difficult ' area approach ' and what is known as the ' hanging around ' method came into use (2, p. 3). Using this method, the starting place is a candy store, pool room, or street corner. The time is varied from early afternoon and evening to late at night and week-ends. The aim is to become a familiar part of the group's surroundings. Conversations are initiated with the more friendly and receptive boys. Sports is a safe non-committal topic ; the ' juke box ' is frequently a useful device in establishing contact (8). It provides common experiences with the group, and gives a pretext for remaining in the stores, etc., without appearing too conspicuous. There are times when contact cannot be established with an overtly suspicious gang. On these occasions, friendly contact can sometimes be established with an affiliated but less anti-social street club. Eventually, opportunity occurs to work directly with the gang by virtue of having associated with the affiliated group.

Gaining the Gang's Acceptance : In the early stages of establishing contact most street gang members regard the worker as a threat. Invariably they think of him and accuse him of being a cop, narcotics man, or FBI agent. This attitude of deep suspicion persists in spite of all reassurances : it is indeed understandable. As Johnson reports, ' Personality-wise, almost without exception, their individual life histories reveal failure to obtain adequate stability, security, from essential parental figures : neglect and

rejection have played large rôles in their lives . . . ' (6, p. 2). The detective is an authority figure, who in their perception is destructive. It is inconceivable to them that any adult could really have a sincere interest in knowing and working with them. When a group reacts to friendly overtures with suspicion and hostility, it is really saying: ' Why are you interested in us ? You are going to harm us. Most adults have. We won't give you the chance.' Mere denials of the accusation cannot change these attitudes. Hence it is necessary to deal with the distorted perceptions on their real, not manifest level. Change in perception may be started by accepting the concern, communicating awareness of the group's anxiety, and then interpreting its behaviour ; one can say, for example: ' I know you have had lots of hard times with adults, and when you meet someone new, especially if you don't know who they are and what they do, you probably think they are out to give you a hard time. Maybe that's why you think I'm a cop.' An interpretation on this level gives the group an opportunity to understand some of the forces underlying its suspicion. It may well be the first step in the re-educative process in the group.

None of the above is meant to imply that words alone can bring about acceptance. To do this, it is necessary to act out much of what is verbalized to the group. This is best accomplished through concrete service, such as helping members obtain jobs, acting as advisers to their social clubs, or finding a place for the basketball team to practise. These and other similar actions provide *functional* definition of rôle, and thus dissipate much of the early distrust.

There are certain indications that the group's confidence and acceptance have been achieved. For example, spontaneous invitations to members' homes or the ' club room ' are positive signs of acceptance. Recounting specific information about present and past anti-social activities is also indicative of progress. Other indications of acceptance are the freedom with which gang members are willing to discuss personal difficulties about home, problems in their sex life, their ambition in life, etc. The group worker, case worker, or psychologist functions in an agency setting. Their clients come with some awareness of the services to be rendered, as well as some desire to be helped. In contrast to this, the practitioner with a street gang is a stranger entering the lives of these boys unasked ; they neither ask for his help nor think they need it. In working with the street club all may well depend on how the help is offered. The full acceptance of the group is only achieved if the gang maintains relationship with the practitioner *after* understanding who he is and what he wants. The establishment of a working relationship with an anti-social street group under these conditions usually takes from three to seven months.

Part II

As the pattern of inter-group conflict changed with the introduction of the pistol into gang warfare, so certain changes evolved concomitantly in the internal structure and leadership functions of the anti-social group.

The Internal Structure of Anti-Social Groups: There are as many variations in the internal structure of anti-social groups as there are gangs. In spite of this, certain basic patterns exist. Three related but independent patterns of organization have evolved; the anti-social structure, the social structure, and the clique.

The Anti-Social Structure: There are three variations of the anti-social structure. The most common pattern is the *vertical* type (3). In this variation the gang is subdivided into what the members call divisions (2). Each division is an integral part of the gang, yet functions in many respects as an autonomous group. For example, it is possible for one division to wage club war without involving the other divisions of the gang. Generally, in these situations they fight divisions of other gangs comparable in age. As long as the older divisions do not interfere, this limited warfare can go on indefinitely; but usually one group or the other makes the accusation that an older division of the enemy is giving unauthorized assistance, and this becomes the occasion for full fledged warfare involving the entire gang. Each division has its own set of officers and tends to involve boys of a particular age range, such as 14–15, or 18–20. The oldest division, generally known as the 'seniors', is at the top of the gang hierarchy. The others descend in order of age category, with the youngest, known as 'tims', at the bottom. Movement from one division to another is based on age. Often, however, a particularly popular member of one of the younger divisions may become the 'mascot' of an older division. A younger member who has achieved widespread reputation because of his skill and daring in club fighting may be permitted to 'join' an older division. A constant flow of members comes into the gang and moves up through the structure. While this is the primary method by which the structure is maintained, there are occasions when an entire group is incorporated into a gang. It may then constitute a division or the greater part of one. This latter method of getting members is more common among the 'newer' gangs which are still growing in size and reputation. As a particular group gains in status, other neighbourhood groups may seek affiliation with the up and coming gang. Sometimes mergers occur as a result of club warfare. Temporarily aligned groups become permanently incorporated divisions. This process was once described to me by a member of a gang in New York City. He was describing the growth of his particular group. 'We started out as the Jolley men, there was eight of us in the club and we changed our name to the Sabers. We had a couple

of rumbles with the Dukes and the Eastside Cobras. They also was rumbling with the Knights. So we joined up with the Knights and first we called ourselves the Saber Knights, but later we changed it to just Knights. Altogether we got about fifty guys in our club now.' Even defeated groups have been known to be incorporated as divisions of the victorious group.

The second variation of the anti-social structure is known as the *horizontal type* (3). As the name implies, the relationships among the divisions are contemporary rather than on age differentials. This variation is actually a federation-like organization of a number of anti-social clubs in a particular neighbourhood. It is especially common in Philadelphia. As in the vertical type of division, there is a great deal of autonomy. The horizontal divisions also have independent officers and other functionaries. Nevertheless, a complete and real identification with the overall gang exists. The division in the horizontal variation that has the highest status is generally the one from which the original gang came.

The third variation is *a combination of the horizontal and vertical forms* of organization ; that is, some of the horizontal divisions will have vertical divisions. An example of this is the Commandos, a group that operated in New York City. The Commandos have a Green Street division, a Front Street division, and Siken Avenue division, with seniors, cubs, and tims, and a Second Street division with a cubs and tims division. Obviously, only the larger street gangs could have this type of organization.

The evolvement of such a complicated anti-social structure in the street gang occurs over a period of time. To a greater extent it was the result of forces acting from without rather than of conscious effort on the part of the members of gangs. A young adult in Philadelphia, who was once a member of a gang, describes the process by which he and his group became involved in anti-social behaviour, and evolved a structure similar to the horizontal type described above. ' A group of us fellows use to hang around on Nevins Street, we had a little basketball team too. We was playing for a little money, well when we won, they didn't want to get up off the money so we told them, " man, ain't gonna be no stuff like that around here ", so we took our money. They said they'd be back. So that night the fellows was standing on the corner, waitin'. Man, about twenty of them cats came down, but we was waitin' for 'em. We had our sticks and bottles stashed away. We started to mix it with them cats, and man, the next thing we knew them cats was shootin' at us. That was the first time I ever heard a gun . . . we didn't have nothin' so we cut out. The next day, the fellows got together and said that if that's the way they want it, it's okay with us. We went around Apple Street, and we told the guys around there what happen', that some guys from crosstown came over with guns. We knew the guys on Apple

Street, but we didn't hang out with them much. We said we was gonna get some stuff and go cross town tonight, did they want to come? They said yeh. One of the fellows in the club said he knew how to make a homemade, so from then on the mess was on. Cats went wild, and soon everybody had homemades and then some cats even got real guns, man many a head was broken . . . I'm telling you. Cats was gettin' stabbed and shot all over the place, it wasn't safe to walk the streets alone any more. Our club was one of the baddest[2] around here, we had guys from Apple Street, Davis Street and Nevins, most of us started hangin' around on Davis Street, 'cause Nevins got too hot.'

The Social Structure: Practically every gang participates to some extent in social activities. When there is at least minimal involvement a social structure evolves in the form of teams and social clubs. The social structure tends to follow age ranges in groups that have a vertical type of organization in the anti-social structure, and geographic location in groups that have the horizontal pattern. Yet the social structure is by no means identical with the anti-social structure. The pattern of inter-relationships in the social structure is different. The athletic teams and social clubs frequently cut across the divisional lines to get a 'better player' or a 'nice guy' who 'knows a lot of girls' for the social club. Many boys who participate in the anti-social activities do not take an active rôle in the social structure; boys who are not members of the gang may sometimes participate in its social activities, but never in its anti-social ones.

The social structure, along with that of the clique, is the everyday functioning structure. If an observer were to study the gang, he would recognize the social structure first. Not but that anti-social activities would be easily observed, but the intricate structure around anti-social behaviour is clearest in times of crisis. Members seldom discuss their participation in anti-social activities and the concomitant relationships in the presence of outsiders. Moreover, in their daily lives and for the greater portion of their time, gang members associate within the social and clique structure, though they are continually aware of the anti-social structure, and this is the most important set of relationships from the status point of view. This is an interesting feature of anti-social groups, for almost all the status a member enjoys, both within the group and from without, is in terms of his participation and position in the anti-social structure. This is true in spite of the fact that he spends comparatively little time in gang warfare. The intensity of emotional involvement is very high. Power (10) makes this same observation in his work with delinquents.

[2] Used in this sense, the word means tough. It carries no connotation of bad in the usual sense of the word.

The Clique Structure : The clique structure is the most pervasive and cuts across the anti-social and the social structure. The clique is the smallest sub-grouping in the gang and is based completely on personal preferences. All the members of a clique are members of the same division in the anti-social structure and grouping (if they participate in social activities) in the social structure. The clique is the informal grouping in the street club. It is the one group in which there is complete freedom of operation and acceptance for the individual member. There are no rules governing participation, and acceptance in the clique is as completely personal as is possible in human society.

Leadership Functions in the Anti-Social Structure: Each division has its own leaders. Each generally has a president, vice-president, war counsellor, and assistant war counsellor. War counsellors are charged with the responsibility for arranging alignments, setting up rules of conduct during warfare, signing truces and peace pacts. In time of conflict they are in actual command of the gang. War counsellors in many instances decide when and where the gang is to fight and when they are to stop. Other groups have specific members designated as ' light up men '. As few gangs have enough guns to go round, certain boys are charged with the responsibility of carrying the pistols and ' lighting up '[3] the rivals' hang-outs when they arrive. Some groups no longer use these particular designations, but their functions are continued. One group in Philadelphia (9) was recently reported as having twelve distinct officers with such descriptive titles as vice-president of war, chief armament, chief of war intelligence, spokesman, and commander of tactical operations. This is an unusual case, but there is no question that members of street gangs are given specific functions to implement the conducting of warfare among rival gangs.

Leadership Functions in the Social Structure: Here leadership functions take on a more familiar pattern: teams have captains, social clubs presidents etc. It will be asked whether the same boys hold leadership positions in both the social and anti-social structures. This will depend on the importance attributed to the social activities of the gang. There is a tendency for leadership functions in the social structure to be held by boys who also hold high status positions in the anti-social structure. This is modified by several factors. Leadership in the social structure is based on ability to function in that area. An expert club fighter is not necessarily a skilled basketball player. Secondly, leadership in the social structure tends to be arrived at more democratically. When social activities are lightly regarded, as they generally are in the more aggressive groups, leadership in the social structure is carried on by lower status members. The level of the gang's interest in

[3] A descriptive phrase meaning to shoot rapidly.

social activities can frequently be measured by observing who is leading the activity.

Leadership Functions in the Clique Structure: Cliques follow the status relationships operating in the overall gang. Members gravitate into cliques according to their relationships within the gang structure. Within the clique, leadership is informal and carried on through the mechanism of prestige suggestions and opinions, which clique members accept or reject solely according to their individual perceptions of the member making the suggestion. Since clique members are close to one another in terms of their status positions in the gang, there is a great deal of fluidity in leadership functions within the clique. The relationship important here is the relationship among the cliques rather than within them.

Psyche- and Socio-Group Processes Operating in the Gang

An interesting frame of reference for analysing the internal structure of anti-social groups can be found in Jennings' (4, 5) formulation of 'psyche' and 'socio' groups. This formulation has been elaborated in other places (1, 12).

The socio-group is one in which participation and association are based on a 'collective criterion' (4). In the socio-group, as Coffey (1) indicates, there are structure, established rules and regulations. Membership is both voluntary and involuntary. There is greater heterogeneity of membership with more crystallized and explicit goals. On the other hand, the psyche-group is described as one in which the individuality of the member is the basic component, where mutual relations and association are very personal matters (4).

The anti-social and social structure of the street gang, while possessing some psyche-group processes, is more nearly representative of socio-group processes. There are rules and regulations governing an individual's functioning within the social and anti-social structure. Membership is voluntary to a certain extent; but since many boys are members of gangs through fear and need for protection, in this sense membership is not voluntary. There is also much heterogeneity in terms of age, rôle and status; much of this is handled through the mechanism of divisions in the anti-social structure, and teams or clubs in the social structure. (It was to handle the growing work orientation of the gang that the anti-social and social structure evolved.) The gang also has a vivid and real purpose—for example, the protection of its members (through the anti-social structure), the purchase of jackets, or production of a dance in the social structure.

The psyche-group process operates to its fullest extent in the clique structure. Membership is entirely voluntary. (A boy may need to be identi-

fied with the gang, but does not need to associate intimately as in the case of the clique.) There are no rules or regulations in the clique, and it is homogeneous in terms of age, rôle and status in the gang. The clique has no purpose except the emotional support that comes from close accepting inter-personal relations.

The importance of psyche-group processes cannot be over-estimated. It was from this original kind of grouping that the other structures in the gang evolved. It is still the mainstay of the gang, and that aspect of participation from which a deep sense of ' belongingness ' is developed.

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(11) ROBINSON, D. (1949). Chance to Belong, New York, Woman's Press.
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COMMENTARY

By JOHN C. SPENCER (BRISTOL)

In his article Mr. Delany is concerned with gang behaviour in America, but he raises a subject of considerable importance to workers in this country in the youth service and the juvenile court. The extent and nature of gang violence have at all times been difficult to assess. It is certainly no new phenomenon and it is always sure of a ready press and a public eager to read

of aggression and destruction caused by the gang. Since the end of the second world war the anti-social gang has been the focus of attention in both Europe and America. In this country during the winter of 1950-51 and again more recently, there have been reports of further outbursts. A club leader, reflecting on thirty years' experience in South London, has suggested that attacks on the club in which rival gangs 'compete in destruction, even to stealing everything, bursting pipes, and flooding the place, and a host of meaningless acts of destruction' had developed largely since the war.[1] In Liverpool a revival in gang activity was noted by the chief probation officer in his report for 1953. The members belong largely to the age-group between 16 and 21. 'They roam a set area, frequently resorting to physical violence if their demands are refused.'[2]

In the occupied countries during the post-war years the opportunities for gang behaviour due to the effects of under-nourishment and the presence of the allied forces were considerable. M. Chazal, the Children's Magistrate of the Seine Court, has described a gang of boys between 12 and 14 who used to snatch women's handbags at rush-hours in the Paris Underground and spend the proceeds on sumptuous meals in black-market restaurants.[3] In Italy the 'shoe-shiners', and indeed the whole problem of vagrant youth organized very often in bands, presented serious difficulties in rehabilitation. Though less organized than the New York gangs which Mr. Delany describes, the groups of vagrant children, stealing from supply dumps and cadging from the troops, presented a ready source of exploitation at the hands of criminals. Indeed, their very lack of organization made the work of rehabilitation the more difficult, providing no framework through which the agency might work.

In Paris this re-educative work has been done by squads (*équipes d'amitié*) in a manner not dissimilar from the American experience which has been mentioned above. It was realized that a gang member could only be helped through the helping of the gang itself. Each of the squads dealt with a particular gang and often assumed the name of the street from which the gang originated, rue Morand squad, Ménilmontant squad and so on. Their object was to convert an anti-social gang into a more social group, giving it sufficient stability for the friendship which united it to extend its range beyond the limits of the group. The worker made his contact with the gang in various ways, while at play in the street, or in a game of football, or by giving the members a book of photographs. His approach was informal.

[1] *The Times*, March 4th, 1954.
[2] *The Times*, March 11th, 1954.
[3] Conference of Experts and Directors of Children's Communities on the problems of the Education of Vagrant Children. U.N.E.S.C.O. 1949.

In the work of these squads probation officers have played a leading part and the opportunities of help and friendship have been accepted by the gang.

In an area of East London the experience has been similar. One club, initially built up around an anti-social group, has depended very much on the local knowledge and contacts of a probation officer whose sincerity has been understood by the members but whose official position in the juvenile court has not proved an insuperable obstacle to his own club work.

The principle is an important one—concentration on the group or on the individual adolescent alone is an inadequate approach to rehabilitation. *Both* are the concern of an agency setting out to assist in the rehabilitation of the anti-social gang. In Hoxton the work has been materially assisted by the knowledge of individual boys and their families gained by the probation officers through their case-work but used also in the club. In Paris, M. Chazal has pointed out how impossible it is for his probation officer, when dealing with the adolescent, to make an arbitrary division of the various problems he presents. It was therefore no accident that in the work of the *équipes d'amitié* probation officers were closely concerned. In the Central Harlem Street Club in New York, described in a book to which Mr. Delany has already referred,[4] the authors emphasize the value that could have been derived from supervisors trained in psychiatric social work.

In his second part, Mr. Delany describes the internal structure of the gang. He comments on the many variations in this structure. At the U.N.E.S.C.O. Conference (1949) also, it was observed how varied their structure may be. According to one authority on the situation in Rome not only did the gangs have an inter-city organization, but at that time a firm internal organization as well, adjusted to their particular purposes. Independent bands of children were often exploited and directed by an adult—either a man or a woman. On the other hand, another experienced worker, the Director of the 'Don Bosco's Boys' village, stated that these gangs were seldom organized according to rank, and hardly ever acknowledged an official leader. Certain boys became *de facto* leaders by reason of their superior skill, physical strength, or astuteness; the remainder submitted to the influence of the more resourceful and took part in gang operations without any prior arrangement of tasks.

The latter view contrasts noticeably with the elaborate organization into divisions described by Mr. Delany, whether of a vertical or a horizontal pattern, to use his own phraseology. In England the pattern is equally varied, the main distinction being between the small face-to-face group based on the local street, tenement, or ice-cream parlour, and the much larger gang,

[4] Crawford, P., Malamud, D., and Dumpson, J., '*Working with Teen-Age Gangs*', N.Y., 1950

sub-divided into small groups, owing allegiance to an adult or based on a local meeting place, a fairground for example, a prominent road junction, or a park.

The gang's aggressiveness has been the subject of frequent comment and observation.[5] In the under-privileged areas of large cities the emotional deprivation of many of its members and the inadequate opportunities for constructive and exciting leisure pursuits contribute jointly to the search for an enemy against whom hostility may be directed. Mr. Delany has described some of the methods employed in inter-gang warfare, a type of behaviour with which social workers in Glasgow have long been familiar. One recent observer on the activity of London gangs has commented on the unwelcome attention paid by the gang to the youth club, though it is a subject on which reports are unreliable. In actual fact the extent of damage is often much less than press reports suggest.

Traditionally the centre of hostility has been the presence of rival gangs with territorial bonds of association, *e.g.* street or tenement, or of adults in the neighbourhood classified as 'authority'. The more recent appearance of the youth club as a focus of attack is less easy to explain. From a study of gang behaviour in East London it seems probable that in several cases individual members of the gang have previously been members of the club or have been unsuccessful in their attempts at joining. There is no clear line of demarcation in the membership of the two groups. The emphasis in the anti-social gang is frequently on aggressive rather than on delinquent behaviour.

The issues raised by Mr. Delany's article are of practical rather than theoretical significance. Our methods of analysis and measurement in the field of gang behaviour are inadequate and our observations still insufficient for theoretical study. The fact is, however, that public opinion on this matter remains so widely inaccurate, both as regards causation as well as therapy, that continued emphasis must be placed on those methods of re-education which use the gang itself as the foundation of further work.

[5] See John C. Spencer, 'The Unclubbable Adolescent', *Brit. J. Delinq.*, 1950, **1**, 113–24, for a bibliography of the literature dealing with the gang.

FAMILY OR SIBSHIP POSITION AND SOME ASPECTS OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

By J. P. LEES AND L. J. NEWSON (NOTTINGHAM)

PART I

INTRODUCTORY

1. WHY THE ENQUIRY WAS UNDERTAKEN

In a study by J. P. Lees (1952) of a group of male working-class adults who had been coal-miners and also part-time students at a University College in the Midlands, it was found that those occupying the different sibship positions of eldest (first born, not merely first born male) and intermediate (neither first nor last born) showed differences in behaviour which proved statistically significant. Because of the small number of those occupying the position of youngest (last born, not merely last born male) it was only possible to compare the eldests with the intermediates. The comparison revealed, firstly, that, while the activity of the eldests appeared to be related to that of their siblings, that of the intermediates did not, and, secondly (which is more important in the present connexion) that the eldests were much more successful in individual activity than the intermediates, who proved most successful in group activity. Reflection upon these findings led to consideration of the experiences to which (amongst working-class males, in childhood, in connexion with the family) eldests on the one hand and intermediates on the other were liable to be subjected. The conclusion was reached that eldests were liable to have certain similar experiences, intermediates another series of experiences in common, and that from these experiences there tended to develop in eldests one typical common attitude to life and in intermediates another common attitude. The development of such different typical attitudes, it was suggested, accounted in part for the behavioural differences found between the eldest and the intermediate adult males who formed the subject of the study. If, for the reasons suggested above, eldests tend to develop one typical common attitude to life and intermediates another, youngests also will tend to develop yet another common attitude. These different attitudes will tend to show themselves in differences of behaviour.

When the present writers found that records of juvenile delinquents (age eight to seventeen inclusive) compiled by a County authority gave the size

of the family and the position in it of each delinquent and, also, that they could have access to the records, they decided to examine and compare those of males in four family position groups—eldest, intermediate, youngest and only children. This was in order to test the views adumbrated above; to discover whether significant behavioural differences were to be found, particularly between those with sibs, that is between eldests, intermediates and youngests, and, if so, whether such differences threw further light on the content of their different common attitudes.

It should be emphasized that the investigators were not primarily interested in delinquency, but chiefly in the question whether behavioural differences could be found between eldest, intermediate and youngest children who happened to be delinquents.

2. How the Data were Obtained: Procedure

The data to be considered relate to the records of male juvenile delinquents (all in the age range eight to seventeen inclusive) which were placed at the disposal of the writers by the Chief Probation Officer of Nottinghamshire. Two samples are dealt with: one of 206, the other of 502 delinquents. Both samples were compiled quite independently by the Probation Authorities. The sample of 206 represented all those male delinquents who, successfully or otherwise, completed a period of probation in the year 1950–51, with the exception of illegitimate children. This sample was analysed first. The sample of 502 was based on pre-charge records for male juveniles against whom a charge had been sustained in the years 1948 and 1949. Again, illegitimate males were excluded and, also, all the records from one large area of the county, because many of them were found to be incomplete. This sample thus comprised, as far as is known, all the eldests, intermediates, youngests and only males amongst juvenile delinquents against whom charges were sustained in three of the four divisions of the county during those two years.

It should be mentioned here that the second sample of 502 delinquents included a small proportion of the sample of 206. The reasons for dealing first with this smaller sample and only later with the larger were: (1) that the records for the first sample were based on a larger acquaintanceship between Probation Officers and delinquents. They were, therefore, more reliable and also contained some items of information which were not available for the larger sample. (2) Some of our findings, in the sample of 206, when tested, produced results which, though not quite statistically significant, were thought to be highly suggestive. The obvious step was to see whether, in a larger sample, similar findings could be made and to test for significance.

Part II

AN ANALYSIS OF THE SAMPLE OF 206 MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

1. Distribution of the 206 in Family Position Groups and according to the Sizes of their Families. Apparent Over-representation of Intermediates

Table I shows the result of this classification. The family size is that of the natural sibship at the time of the offence and the family position is that in the sibship born of the same two parents.

Table I

Family Position and Number of Children in Families of the Delinquents

Family Size No. of Children	*Only*	*Eldest*	*Inter-mediate*	*Youngest*	*Total*
1 . .	10	—	—	—	10
2 . .	—	17	—	17	34
3 . .	—	20	14	11	45
4 . .	—	6	18	4	28
5 . .	—	3	25	3	31
6 . .	—	2	21	3	26
7 . .	—	1	13	—	14
8 . .	—	1	5	2	8
9 . .	—	—	5	1	6
10 . .	—	—	1	—	1
10 plus . .	—	—	2	1	3
	10	50	104	42	206
Percentage of all delinquents .	4·85	24·27	50·49	20·39	100%

The sample does not appear to be unusual in respect of the size of family from which these delinquents were drawn. Other investigators have found similar small proportions of only children in their samples (ref. 7) and also that families which produce delinquents tend to be large (four or more children) rather than small (refs. 2 and 10).

One rather unexpected feature revealed by this table is the apparently large proportion of intermediates occurring in family sizes 4–7 inclusive. Intermediates from these families are certainly in excess of the proportions which would be expected if persons of all ages from families of these sizes

had been sampled. If, for instance, we take a random sample of persons of all ages from family size 4 we should expect to get as many eldests as youngests and twice as many intermediates. Using a similar argument for family sizes 5, 6 and 7, we can compare the figures we have with those that might be expected, as follows:

Family Size	*Eldest and Youngest combined*		*Intermediates*		*Probability based on* χ^2
	Observed	*Expected*	*Observed*	*Expected*	
4 . .	10	14	18	14	·092
5 . .	6	12·4	25	18·6	·014
6 . .	5	8·67	21	17·33	·088
7 . .	1	4	13	10	·059

(χ^2 (*chi-squared*) *an accepted method of checking the observed results against results to be expected theoretically.*)

The last column gives the value of the probability associated with such discrepancies if we could regard our sample as a random sample of persons of all ages. The combined probability for these four family sizes is in fact $P < \cdot 01$. The difficulty in interpreting this as representing a significant over-representation of intermediates in our sample is that we are dealing not with persons of all ages but with a restricted age-range, viz. 8–17 years inclusive. It is, however, possible to argue that this restriction does not greatly affect the expected proportions in families of this size.

2. Relatively greater Proportion of the Youngest and only Children among those from Disturbed Homes

Entries relating to the parents and home backgrounds of the delinquents were examined to ascertain whether these would reveal differences between the various family position groups.

Here the initial difficulty was to find an objective method for classifying homes as ' disturbed '. This was overcome by regarding as coming from a disturbed home any delinquent whose mother or father was dead, or an invalid (unable to follow any employment including that of housewife), or had deserted, separated from or divorced the other, or had acquired a second spouse (stepfather or stepmother of the delinquent), or who had himself been separated for a long period from his parents. One or more of these criteria classified a delinquent as coming from a disturbed home.[1]

[1] These criteria of a disturbed home were suggested by a reading of ' Juvenile Delinquency in an English Middletown ' by Dr. H. Mannheim (pp. 85–86). See also J. Bowlby, ' Child Care and the Growth of Love ' (Pelican), pp. 83–84. Dr. Mannheim includes also illegitimacy, with which we are not concerned, ' Lack of Parental Control, etc.' and ' Delinquent Siblings ' about which we could not be sure that we had accurate information (refs. 1 and 5).

Some delinquents were recorded as coming from specifically good homes. As these records were compiled by the Probation Officers concerned only *after* the delinquents had completed a period of probation, it was felt that, even though individual officers would have different views as to what constituted a good home, these cases should be noted.[2]

Table II, then, shows the number and proportions in each of the various family position groups not only from (*a*) disturbed homes, but also from (*b*) good homes.

The categories are mutually exclusive.

TABLE II

(*a*) *Delinquents from Disturbed Homes.*
(*b*) *Delinquents from Good Homes.*

(*a*)	*Only*	*Eldest*	*Intermediate*	*Youngest*	*Total*
No. of cases . .	10	50	104	42	206
Mother dead . .	1	1	—	6	
Father dead . .	—	2	5	5	
Mother invalid .	—	—	3	2	
Father invalid . .	—	1	1	—	
Des., Sep., Divorce .	1	2	7	5	
Stepmother . .	—	3	2	—	
Stepfather . .	—	3	1	2	
Sep. of child . .	1	1	1	1	
Disturbed homes—Total . . .	3 (30%)	13 (26·6%)	20 (19·2%)	21 (50%)	57 (27·65%)
(*b*)					
Specifically good homes . . .	1 (10%)	10 (20%)	21 (20%)	3 (7%)	35 (17·6%)

Percentages refer to those of all only, eldest, etc., children in the whole sample.

An examination of this table shows that a fairly low proportion of intermediates, a moderately high proportion of only children, and a high proportion of youngests were drawn from disturbed homes. Also, a low proportion of youngests and only children as compared with intermediates and eldests come from specifically good homes. On the whole, the intermediates and eldests seem to have been less affected by the home background, whether it were specifically good or disturbed, than either the only children or the youngests, the youngests apparently showing the greatest sensitivity to these home conditions.

[2] The Officers' judgment would appear to be fairly reliable. Of the 35 from good homes, all at the end of probation were regarded as minor offenders. None were serious or recurrent offenders.

If, in both cases, we contrast youngest and only children with the others we can show that the former are significantly over-represented among those from disturbed homes ($\chi^2 = 11{\cdot}87$, $P < {\cdot}001$) and tend to be under-represented among those from specifically good homes ($\chi^2 = 3{\cdot}43$, $P < {\cdot}07$).

3. The Eldests (and Only Children) inclined towards Individual and the Intermediates towards Group Delinquent Activity

When attention was turned to the delinquent acts which had been committed, it was found that there was little difference between the various family position groups. No group was significantly more addicted to any particular kind of offence.

When, however, delinquent acts were classified according to whether they were committed alone, with one other (group of two), with two others (group of three), etc., definite differences between the family position groups appeared.

Table III shows the result of this classification and, in brackets, the percentage of the only children, eldests, etc., in each of the groups.

Table III

Number committing Offences alone and in Groups of Two to Five and more

(In brackets percentage of only children, eldests, etc.)

	Alone	2	3	4	*5 and more*	*Total*
Only . .	4 (40%)	3 (30%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)	10 (100%)
Eldest . .	15 (30%)	15 (30%)	6 (12%)	4 (8%)	10 (20%)	50 (100%)
Intermediate .	21 (20·2%)	19 (18·3%)	19 (18·3%)	12 (11·5%)	33 (31·7%)	104 (100%)
Youngest .	13 (30·9%)	9 (21·4%)	6 (14·3%)	6 (14·3%)	8 (19·1%)	42 (100%)
	53	46	32	23	52	206

There is reason to think that the offences committed alone or with one other should be classified differently from those committed with two or more others.

The view of an experienced Probation Officer is that it is much more difficult to break up a delinquent combination of two friends than a combination of more than two associates. Further, evidence was found in the records themselves to support this view. Delinquents had been classified by the Probation Authorities when the probation had been completed, as either 'minor' or 'serious or recurrent' offenders. Forty-nine of our sample were classified as serious or recurrent. Of these 22 had committed offences alone, 12 with one other, and only 15 with two or more others.

It therefore seems reasonable to classify offences committed alone or

with one other as ' individual ' offences, and those committed with two or more others as ' group ' offences. It will be seen from Table III that a higher proportion of eldests and only children committed individual offences and a higher proportion of intermediates committed group offences. These differences can be shown to be statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 8{\cdot}59$, d. of f. 2, $P < {\cdot}02$) if the table is condensed as follows:

	Individual Offences	*Group Offences*	*Total*
Only and eldests .	37 (61·7%)	23 (38·3%)	60 (100%)
Intermediates . .	40 (38·5%)	64 (61·5%)	104 (100%)
Youngests . .	22 (52·3%)	20 (47·7%)	42 (100%)

It appears that the youngests as a group were not more inclined towards individual activity than towards group activity.

4. A Higher Proportion of the Eldests and the Youngests than of the Others among the ' Serious or Recurrent ' Offenders

As mentioned above, all delinquents were classified as either ' serious or recurrent ' or ' minor ' offenders. This classification was made by the Chief Probation Officer's staff, not by the Probation Officers who furnished the reports. Altogether, 157 were found to be minor offenders and 49 serious offenders. These were separated according to family position as follows:

.	*Only*	*Eldest*	*Intermediate*	*Youngest*
Serious, etc. . .	1	17	21	10
Minor offenders .	9	33	83	32
Total . . .	10	50	104	42

It appears from this that a slightly higher proportion of eldest and youngest children as compared with the rest come into the category of serious or recurrent offenders. However, when this difference is tested for significance we find $\chi^2 = 2{\cdot}84$, d. of f. 1, $P \lessdot {\cdot}05$, which cannot be considered significant. (See, however, also Part III, section 4.)

5. Differences so far revealed between the various Family Position Groups

The only children, as a group, differed except from the youngests by being relatively over-represented amongst those from disturbed homes, and they

differed except from the eldests in being more inclined towards individual than group offences.

The eldest children, as a group, differed from the intermediates and the youngests, particularly from the former, in tending to commit individual rather than group offences.

The intermediates, as a group, differed from the others and particularly from the eldests, in tending to commit group rather than individual offences, and possibly in being relatively over-represented in family sizes 4–7 inclusive, and also (with the only children) in being under-represented amongst the serious or recurrent offenders.

The youngests, as a group, differed from the eldests and the intermediates, particularly from the latter, in being relatively much over-represented amongst those from disturbed homes and under-represented amongst those from specifically good homes. They differed also from the others in that they showed no more inclination for individual than for group activity.

Table IV provides a summary of these differences by showing the percentages of only children, eldests, etc., in the various categories.

TABLE IV

	Whole Sample	*Disturbed Homes*	*Good Homes*	*Individual Offences*	*Serious Offenders*
Only . .	4·8	5·2	2·8	7·1	2·0
Eldests .	24·3	22·8	28·6	30·3	34·6
Intermediates	50·5	35·1	60·0	40·4	43·0
Youngests .	20·4	36·8	8·6	22·2	20·4
Total .	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. . .	206	57	35	99	49

PART III

AN ANALYSIS OF THE SAMPLE OF 502 MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

1. DISTRIBUTION OF THE 502 IN FAMILY POSITION GROUPS AND ACCORDING TO THE SIZES OF THEIR FAMILIES: THE QUESTION WHETHER INTERMEDIATES ARE OVER-REPRESENTED

Table V shows the result of this classification, family position and size being assessed as before.

TABLE V

Family Size	*Only*	*Eldest*	*Intermediate*	*Youngest*	*Total*
1 . .	26	—	—	—	26
2 . .	—	42	—	40	82
3 . .	—	33	37	33	103
4 . .	—	18	49	18	85
5 . .	—	7	55	5	67
6 . .	—	4	49	5	58
7 . .	—	2	29	4	35
8 . .	—	—	17	3	20
9 . .	—	1	7	1	9
10 . .	—	—	6	—	6
10 plus .	—	—	8	3	11
	26	107	257	112	502
Percentage of all delinquents .	5·2	21·3	51·1	22·3	100%

Examination of this table shows, as examination of Table I did, an apparent over-representation of intermediates in family sizes 4–7 inclusive. It also shows a tendency in the large families for the youngests to be in higher and the eldests in lower proportion than we should expect them to be found if the sample had been unrestricted as to age. The same tendency was found in a sample of schoolboys to which reference is made below. The explanation is obvious. Given that a juvenile in the age range 8–17 years comes from a large family, he is clearly most likely to be in some intermediate position, next most likely to be a youngest and least likely to be an eldest.

Reverting to the matter of the apparent over-representation of intermediates amongst the delinquents, recently (November 1953) the writers were able to ascertain the family size and relative position in the family of all the boys in one Grammar and four Secondary Modern boys' schools in Nottingham. They concentrated on the returns from the 11–13 year-olds, the peak age for delinquency being in these years. Comparing intermediates with eldests and youngests combined in the families of size 3, 4, 5 and so on, they found, in this restricted age group, that the proportions of intermediates to others were roughly the same as might be expected if the sample had been unrestricted as to age—except in family size 4. Here (family size 4) the observed frequency of intermediates was significantly ($\chi^2 = 6{\cdot}02$, $P < {\cdot}02$) in excess of the expected frequency. So the evidence is not conclusive that sampling in such a restricted age group (11–13 years inclusive) is likely to yield approximately the same results as are to be expected when sampling

a group unrestricted as to age. However, using the schoolboys as a control group and comparing them with the delinquents it was found that intermediates amongst delinquents from families of sizes 5 and 6 were significantly over-represented. The following shows this:

Family Size	*Eldests and Youngests combined*		*Intermediates*		χ^2	*P*
	Schools	*Delinquents*	*Schools*	*Delinquents*		
4 . .	95	36	132	49	0·03	Not sig.
5 . .	58	12	97	55	8·3	0·01
6 . .	34	9	66	49	6·3	0·01
7 . .	7	6	34	29	0·01	Not sig.

To the writers it seems highly probable that intermediates are over-represented amongst the delinquents. They have other reasons than those given above (see Part V, sections 3 and 4) for thinking this to be the case.

2. A High Proportion of the Youngest and Only Children amongst those from Disturbed Homes

Delinquents from disturbed homes were classified as in the first sample. Table VI summarizes the results of this classification:

Table VI

	Eldest	*Intermediate*	*Youngest*	*Only*	*Total*
Disturbed homes.	25	54	55	12	146
Not disturbed .	82	203	57	14	356
Total . .	107	257	112	26	502

Condensing this table as before and comparing youngest and only children with the rest, the following proportions are found:

	Youngest and Only	*Others*	*Total*
Disturbed homes .	67	79	146
Not disturbed .	71	285	356
Total . . .	138	364	502

The difference between these two groups is again highly significant ($\chi^2 = 35{\cdot}04$ d. of f., 1, $P < {\cdot}001$). Only and youngest children are again heavily over-represented amongst the delinquents from disturbed homes.

There were no entries on these records from which it could be established how many delinquents came from specifically good homes, the Probation Officers concerned having had only a brief acquaintance with these delinquents and their home circumstances.

3. Individual and Group Delinquent Activity and Family Position Groups

Table VII shows the number of juveniles in the four family position groups committing offences alone and in groups of 2, 3, etc. In the case of five delinquents it was impossible to say from the records how many other individuals were involved in the offence. These are shown as unclassified.

Table VII

Number committing Offences alone and in Groups of Two to Five and More

	Alone	2	3	4	*5 and more*	*Unclassified*	*Total*
Only	10	5	3	2	6	—	26
Eldest	26	30	26	5	20	—	107
Intermediate	38	57	64	9	85	4	257
Youngest	31	22	18	8	32	1	112
	105	114	111	24	143	5	502

Neglecting the five unclassified, and defining individual and group offences as before, we have, on condensing Table VII, the following proportions:

	Individual Offences	*Group Offences*	*Total*
Eldest	56	51	107
Intermediate	95	158	253
Youngest and Only	68	69	137
Total	219	278	497

From this we see that the proportion of eldests engaging in individual activity, or committing what we defined as individual offences, is not now so pronounced as compared with the youngest and only children, but that the proportion of intermediates engaging in such individual activity is, as before, much lower than the proportion of all others. A test of significance of these differences gives: $\chi^2 = 9{\cdot}05$. d. of f. 2. $P < {\cdot}02$.

This difference does not imply that juveniles from large or small families tend to hang together as a group. There is no evidence in our samples to this effect. It does suggest, however, as did the findings in the sample of 206, that the intermediates were most inclined and the only and eldest children least inclined to engage in group delinquent activity.

It should perhaps be mentioned here that the writers had independent reasons for believing that intermediates from families of size 3 might differ from other intermediates and in particular that they might be less inclined than other intermediates to act as members of groups. They therefore contrasted intermediates from family size 3 with other intermediates as follows:

	Individual Offences	*Group Offences*	*Total*
Intermediates from family size 3 . .	19	18	37
Intermediates from larger families . .	76	140	216
Total	95	158	253

Testing the difference for significance gives: $\chi^2 = 3{\cdot}5$. d. of f. 1. $P < {\cdot}07$, which, though not significant, is suggestive as an indicator for further research.

4. A Larger Proportion of the Eldests and Youngests than of the Others amongst Serious Offenders

The delinquents in this sample had not been classified independently as serious or recurrent or minor offenders. But information was available about the way the offenders were dealt with. Of the 502 juveniles, 40 were sent to approved schools, 7 to remand homes, 17 were committed to the care of local authorities, 312 were put on probation, 49 were fined and 77 admonished. Table VIII shows how many in each family position group were dealt with in these various ways.

TABLE VIII

Family Position and Sentences

	Approved School	*Remand Home*	*Care of L.A.*	*Proba-tion*	*Fined*	*Admon-ished*	*Total*
Only .	2	—	—	15	2	7	26
Eldest .	11	3	2	59	12	20	107
Intermediate	15	2	10	169	25	36	257
Youngest .	12	2	5	69	10	14	112
Total .	40	7	17	312	49	77	502

It seems fairly obvious that those committed to approved schools or remand homes would be the most serious delinquents. It appears from Table VIII that a higher proportion of eldests and youngests as compared with intermediates were to be found amongst these serious offenders. If for the time being we ignore the only children the table can be condensed to show this difference, thus:

	Approved School and Remand Home	*Otherwise dealt with*	*Total*
Eldest and Youngest .	28	191	219
Intermediates . .	17	240	257
Total	45	431	476

This difference is significant: $\chi^2 = 5{\cdot}26$. d. of f. 1. $P < {\cdot}03$. That is, intermediates are significantly under-represented amongst the serious offenders.

5. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS IN SAMPLE OF 502

The findings made in this sample are similar to those made in the sample of 206. The statement of the differences revealed between the various family position groups in our first sample (see Part II, section 5) may therefore be taken to apply to this sample.

Table IX provides a summary of the differences found in the sample of 502 by showing the percentages of only children, eldests, etc., in the whole and various reduced samples.

TABLE IX

	Whole Sample	*Disturbed Homes*	*Individual Offences*	*Approved Schools, etc.*
Only . . .	5·2	8·2	6·8	4·2
Eldest . . .	21·3	17·1	25·55	29·8 .
Intermediate . .	51·1	37·0	43·38	36·2
Youngest . .	22·3	37·7	24·2	29·8
	100% (502)	100% (146)	100% (219)	100% (47)

PART IV

CORROBORATIVE EVIDENCE FROM OTHER STUDIES

At the various points at which they can be compared—viz. size of family, proportion of only children, proportion of delinquents from disturbed homes (refs. 2, 5 and 7)—the two samples of delinquents which have been examined are similar to samples studied by other investigators. Very few of these studies present data in such a form that comparison can be made between the various family position groups; but mention should be made of the findings of two investigators in the U.S.A. Raymond F. Sletto (1934), using a control group of non-delinquents of similar ages and background, found certain intermediate children to be heavily over-represented in the delinquent group; and Maud A. Merrill (1947) gives a table which shows, as ours do, a high proportion of intermediate children among delinquents from families of sizes of 4 and more.

The writers are also greatly indebted to Dr. D. H. Stott for making available to them unpublished data from the records of 102 young male delinquents which formed the basis for his well-known study, ' Delinquency and Human Nature '. Dr. Stott's sample was obtained by taking 102 cases in the order of their entry into an approved school. The sample included 14 illegitimate children. Of the remaining 88, family size, calculated as in our samples, averaged 4·2, and 42 delinquents came from homes disturbed by the death, desertion or chronic illness of one or both parents. Below is shown the numbers and proportion of only, eldest, intermediate and youngest children in the whole sample and in the group from disturbed homes.

	Only	*Eldest*	*Intermediate*	*Youngest*	*Total*
Whole sample . .	6 (6·8%)	28 (31·8%)	38 (43·2%)	16 (18·2%)	88 (100%)
Disturbed homes [3] .	4 (9·5%)	13 (30·9%)	12 (28·6%)	13 (30·9%)	42 (100%)

[3] In arriving at these figures one of the criteria of a disturbed home—separation from parents—was not used because so many boys had been evacuated or had previously been in remand homes, etc.

The main points of interest here are: the high proportion of eldest children amongst these serious offenders (31·8 per cent., compared with 34·6 per cent. in our first sample and approximately 30 per cent. in our second sample—youngests are not so heavily represented here as in our second sample) and the high proportion of youngest and only children from disturbed homes.

The above considerations suggest that our samples were not unique samples of juvenile delinquents, and it may be the case that, if family position groups are compared in other samples of delinquents, differences similar to those found here will be revealed.

Part V

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

1. The Differences found Between the Family Position Groups of the Delinquents

Generally speaking, what has been established by our study of delinquents is that by grouping them as eldests, intermediates and youngests it can be shown that the groups differ significantly in behaviour from each other.

The specific differences which have been established between the family position groups may be reduced to two major findings:

1. The eldests (with the only children) proved most inclined, the youngests next, and the intermediates least inclined, to act as individuals rather than as members of groups; a higher proportion of the eldests and a lower proportion of the intermediates than of the others is found amongst those committing individual offences and, also, amongst the more ' individual ' serious or recurrent offenders. Indeed, the three main family position groups can be clearly distinguished along what might be called a continuum of ' individual ' . . . ' group ' activity.

2. The youngests (with the only children) proved most liable, eldests much less, and intermediates least liable to come from disturbed homes.

[In this connexion it should be mentioned that any of the criteria of a disturbed home used here is likely, in the conditions of working-class life, to result in the withdrawal or the appearance of withdrawal of the mother from her children. Even if she remains with the family, the chronic illness, desertion or death of her spouse is very liable to result in her attention being engaged elsewhere more than it was, and less with the child most dependent upon her—the youngest.]

2. The Attitudes, or Personality Configurations, to which the Differences Point

On the assumption, which was stated at the outset, that differences in behaviour spring, at least in part, from differences in attitude, the first of the above findings points to the eldests having developed a typical common attitude of preference for activity as individuals, the intermediates one of preference for activity as members of groups, and the youngests an attitude of equal preference for activity as individuals and as members of groups. The second finding points to the youngests having developed most, and the intermediates least, an attitude of dependence upon the security of the home or the support and affection of the mother.

3. A Basis for such Typical Common Attitudes to be Found in Similarities of Experience

If a basis is sought for the development of such typical common attitudes as those deduced from the behavioural differences which have been disclosed, it may be found—for those who would accept the postulates (ref. 4) (*a*) that the individual's early experiences exert a lasting effect upon his personality configuration and (*b*) that similar experiences tend to produce similar personality configurations (or attitudes) in the individuals subjected to them —*in the fact* that, in our culture, amongst working-class males, those in the same family position (eldests, intermediates or youngests) tend to have in childhood, in relation to the family, certain similar experiences. This *fact* can briefly be made evident. *Eldests* learn that they are the first-born. When sibs arrive, whatever feelings their arrival may give rise to, eldests find themselves bigger and stronger than, superior to them and, as eldests, in a position from which no sib can displace them. No sib does before them what they must do. Unconsciously they learn to face up, as individuals, alone, without the aid of sibs, to the adult world and the world outside the home. They have no sib, no peer, to imitate; they find themselves, willy-nilly, the trail blazer, the initiator, the mediator between the adult and child worlds, held to be most responsible, if only because they are the eldest, in the sibship.

Intermediates learn that they are neither first nor last born: displaced, like the eldest, by the arrival of a younger sib they cannot, however, find compensation in the knowledge that they are superior to all their sibs. Above them is the eldest who has already done what they are expected to do and who is regarded as their guide, mentor, and example to copy. Below them is the smaller, weaker youngest, to whom they are usually expected to give way. They find themselves held to be neither as responsible as the eldest nor as privileged as the youngest in the sibship; unconsciously they learn to

be aware of eldest and youngest, to imitate rather than to initiate, to behave as members of a group—of sibs—rather than as individuals. There is also this to consider. Working-class families tend to live in circumstances of close proximity and rough equality and, also, to use only one room—even when the family is not formally overcrowded—as a living room, in which all diurnal tasks are performed. When such families have four or more children, the intermediates, having fewer duties than the eldest and being less in need of care than the youngest, are likely to find there is literally ' no room in the house ' for them, to be ' squeezed out ' into the street, or nearby open space, ' to play ' with their peers and so to reinforce the tendency already acquired to act as members of a group or gang.

Youngests learn that they are last-born, the baby, inferior, if only because they are younger and smaller, in relation to their sibs, but, if only on that account, privileged in relation to the mother. They are liable to be alternately patronized and rebuffed by their sibs and to enforce claims to equality with them by invoking the support of the mother, which they are usually able to do, since no sib comes between them and the mother, for a longer period than were their sibs. Unconsciously they learn that they have alternative fields of activity, that they can turn either to their sibs or to their mother. With the former they can co-operate as (inferior) members of a group, to the latter they can appeal, as individuals who have been rebuffed or rejected by their sibs. They learn to behave equally well—or badly—as members of a group and as individuals and, in the process, to depend upon the mother so that if she departs or appears to withdraw (that is, if the home becomes ' disturbed '), they are more likely than their sibs to feel alone, lost, bewildered, again, if only because they will then be younger than their sibs.[4]

Only children require brief mention. Their experience will tend to be the opposite of that of intermediates, for they are alone, not surrounded by sibs. They will tend to learn, like eldests, to face up, alone, as individuals, to adults and the world outside the home, and, like youngests, to invoke and rely on the support and assurance of the mother over a long period of time. They will not learn to act as members of groups but as individuals who can always call in the support of a stronger, the mother; their experience is liable to be (and to develop in them an attitude which is) a synthesis of that of eldests and youngests.

Those in the same family position, it is claimed, tend to have similar experiences in their sibships. Clearly, also, those whose sibships are similarly composed as to sex will tend to have *an additional* series of similar experiences. For example, given the importance attached to maleness in our culture,

[4] It has been shown by Bowlby (ref. 1) that the age at which a child is deprived of its mother is a critical factor in producing emotional disturbances.

intermediate and youngest males, all of whose sibs are female, will tend to have a greater importance in their sibships than those whose sibs are all male. However, taking no account of the sex of their sibs, it seems clear that, amongst working-class males, those occupying the same family position are likely to have similarities of experience which will tend to differentiate them from those occupying any of the other three positions; and there is to be found in such experiences the basis for precisely such attitudes, or personality configurations, as those suggested by the behavioural differences found between the family position groups amongst the delinquents.

4. Family Position and Juvenile Delinquency: Some Observations

In view of the findings reported here, and in the light of the discussion immediately above, it seems possible to make some observations about the different family position groups in relation to juvenile delinquency.

Eldests, it would appear, are likely to be found to be more ' individual ' delinquents than those in other sibship positions because they tend more than others to learn to depend upon, in a sense to please, themselves. They are less likely than the others, particularly intermediates, simply to drift into delinquency as mere members of a group or gang, but more likely, having become delinquent, to become seriously so, because they are less likely than those in the other positions to be influenced by action or opinion which is not their own.

Intermediates, especially those from families of size 4 and more, apparently, are most likely simply to drift into delinquency as mere members of a group or gang because they are more liable than those in other family positions, not only to learn, in the family, to behave as members of groups rather than as individuals but, also, to be ' squeezed out ' at an early age into the street ' to play ' and so to be available in childhood, and adolescence, to run with the group or gang. Yet, although they appear more liable to become delinquent, they are less liable than others who become delinquent to persist in such behaviour and become serious offenders. For they will tend to be ' easily led ' not only into but, also, out of things; having tended to learn to imitate rather than initiate, they pay more attention to the opinion and behaviour of others than to their own.

Youngests, amongst those from good and also *un*disturbed homes, appear less liable than eldests or intermediates to become delinquent, because, tending to have a privileged position in such homes and a special place in relation to the mother, they develop less inclination to be ' out and about ' than either eldests, who could wish thus to escape from their responsibilities, or intermediates, who tend to prefer to be with ' the gang '. Amongst those from disturbed homes youngests would seem more liable than others to

become delinquent, which indicates that the loss of the security provided by the mother has the greatest influence upon them.

Only children would seem to be deterred from and propelled into delinquency by the same factors as appear to deter and propel youngests and, in delinquency, to be as liable as eldests to commit individual offences because, to put it briefly, they tend to share with eldests and youngests those experiences which are not connected with sibs.

If the general view expressed here is correct—*i.e.*, that eldests tend to develop one typical common attitude to life, intermediates another, youngests another and only children yet another—it may be that it would be socially advantageous to view delinquents not merely as delinquents but as eldest, etc., children who are delinquent. It may be the case that allowance should be made, both in the study and treatment of juvenile delinquents, for the possibility of those occupying the different family positions having such different attitudes, and, also, that those occupying different positions would respond to different treatment. For, as Aristotle said, ' Injustice arises when equals are treated unequally and, also, when unequals are treated equally '.

SUMMARY

The enquiry was undertaken for the reasons stated in Part I, section 1, of this article. Two samples of male juvenile delinquents were investigated (No. = 206. No. = 502). It was found that, in behaviour, the eldests differed significantly from the intermediates, just as those found in a group of adult coal-miners had differed in that the eldests inclined to individual and the intermediates to group activity. It was also found that the youngests differed significantly from both the eldests and the intermediates, whilst only children seemed to be inclined, like eldests, to individual activity and, like youngests, not to become delinquent unless they came from disturbed homes. Corroboration from other studies was given of some of these findings. These significant behavioural differences were held to point to those in the same family position group having tended to develop similarities of attitude which differentiated them from those in other position groups. A basis for the development of such common attitudes was held to lie in *the fact* that those of the same sibship position, social class, and culture are liable, in childhood and adolescence, to have similar experiences in relation to their different sibships. Evidence of such experiences was adduced, and some observations were made about juvenile delinquency and the various family position groups.

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I.S.T.D. Summer School

The Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency is holding a Summer School at St. Hugh's College, Oxford, from 18th to 25th September, 1954, on the subject of 'The Changing Attitude of Society towards Criminal Responsibility'.

The main object of the School is to widen the methods of team research on the subject by organizing a symposium at which representatives of the law, religion, moral philosophy, education and social science will seek, in concert with psychiatrists, psychologists and sociologists, to re-define and if necessary modify existing conceptions of criminal responsibility. To this work members of the School, who represent a cross-section of intelligent and instructed public opinion, can materially contribute by taking an active part in the various discussions.

The speakers will be: Dr. Max Grunhut, Mr. J. E. Hall Williams, Mr. L. E. Seaton, Mr. Basil Mitchell, Rev. Father Owen, Dr. Peter Scott, Mr. J. S. Gittins, Dr. Portia Holman, Mr. John B. Mays.

Please apply for details to: Assistant General Secretary, I.S.T.D., 8 Bourdon Street, Davies Street, W.1.

RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

(*Continued from Vol. IV, p.* 282)

CURRENT RESEARCH. XXXVIII. PREVENTION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN EUROPE.

(1) *Name of University Department, Hospital, or other Institution or private person supplying the information:* The I.S.T.D.

(2) *Subject of Research:*

(a) To make a comprehensive survey of the existing action programmes for the prevention of juvenile delinquency in the countries of Europe (including Turkey and Israel). The survey to include official or unofficial, national or local action programmes, and also evaluative material, gathered from researches and studies already undertaken, by which the effectiveness of the action programmes in preventing juvenile delinquency can be estimated.

(b) To prepare ultimately a multi-disciplinary analysis of programmes examined.

(3) *Under whose auspices is the research being carried out?*

Undertaken by the I.S.T.D. under the auspices of the United Nations, Division of Social Welfare, New York. Research Worker: W. Litauer, M.A., LL.M., under the direction of a special sub-committee of the Scientific Committee of the I.S.T.D.

(4) [*a.*] *Started:* December, 1953. [*b.*] *Completion expected:* December, 1954.

Editorial Note. Owing to the importance of the U.N. research project outlined above the Editorial Board feel that it is desirable to enlist the co-operation of readers in this and other countries. As, in the time available, the information required can only be obtained by using the Questionnaire method, the first concern of the Research Team has been to draw up a number of sectional Questionnaires to be sent to qualified informants in the different countries. Five of these Questionnaires have been prepared: viz. (1) Legal, (2) Penal, (3) Medico-psychological, (4) Educational, (5) Social, with an additional section on Research. In most of these Questionnaires the problem has been dealt with in two sections, one devoted to the preventive aspects of work on delinquents during and after the completion of sentence and the other to preventive work on pre-delinquency.

Although, strictly speaking, pre-delinquency may be defined as that state of pre-disposition which *ceteris paribus* is likely to end in delinquent behaviour, *e.g.*, behaviour problems, the sections of the questionnaires dealing with pre-delinquency have been so arranged as to elicit information also on factors likely to *promote* a delinquent predisposition, and on the steps taken to deal with such contributing factors. As many of these latter come under the heading of 'social measures' (*e.g.*, the handling of truancy or vagrancy), a good deal of work will be necessary

to sift out and evaluate relevant information Readers who have special information on the preventive aspects of pre-delinquency work or, for that matter, on preventive work on delinquents are invited to communicate with the Research Fellow of the I.S.T.D.: Mr. W. Litauer, I.S.T.D., 8, Bourdon St., Davies St., London, W.1. (Telephone: MAYfair 0632/3) who will be glad to provide the necessary Questionnaire forms.

CURRENT RESEARCH. XXXIX. CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF CURRENT VIEWS OF THE CAUSES OF CRIME

(1) Lord Pakenham.

(2) Information is being collected from available literature and statistics, from a wide range of people with expert knowledge of criminals, and from criminals and ex-criminals, in order to review and sift the diverse opinions which are held about the main causes of crime and to ascertain as far as possible which of them are based upon tested evidence and which have gained currency without having, at present, any proved foundation. It is hoped, also, that the enquiry will reveal subjects which will repay further close examination.

(3) The Nuffield Foundation. The enquiry is being carried out by Lord Pakenham, assisted by Mr. L. Farrer-Brown, J.P., Dr. T. C. N. Gibbens, Dr. M. Grunhut, Mr. F. Milton and Dr. D. Stafford-Clark.

(4) [*a.*]: September 1953. [*b.*]: uncertain.

(5) No results so far published.

RESEARCH NOTE

CALIFORNIA'S INTENSIVE PAROLE SUPERVISION PROJECT[1]

The major hypothesis underlying this operational research project is that by providing more intensive parole casework supervision for the initial period of three months after release, the rate of parole violations can be reduced and earlier release of prisoners will be possible. The hypothesis originated in the experience of the California Department of Corrections and the Adult Authority—an experience confirmed by many follow-up studies—that parole violations are particularly frequent and the need for more intensive after-care therefore most urgent in the first three months after release. The main features of the project, which was put into operation in the course of the year 1953, are as follows:

Fourteen parole officers (P.O. I) were selected to give intensive supervision to fifteen parolees each for three months after release, after which period these cases are transferred to normal case load supervision, *i.e.*, to parole officers (P.O. II) having to supervise ninety men each. This scheme provides for an intensive supervision of sixty men per officer annually, or for 840 men per year altogether. Some of these men are granted parole dates advanced by approximately three months, while the others are released as usual. An adequate number of parolees is selected to allow for approximately 800 men to be given three months intensive supervision and for a control group of the same size to be placed throughout under

[1] We are indebted to Dr. Norman Fenton, Deputy Director, Department of Corrections, State of California, Mr. Walter Stone, Chief State Parole Officer, and Mr. Walter A. Gordon, Chairman, California Adult Authority for kindly supplying the material for this Note and giving permission to publish (ED.).

ordinary supervision. In the selection for both the experimental and the control groups only cases with definite handicaps, in particular serious physical or mental illnesses, are excluded; otherwise the selection is made at random. The Parole Officers I, though experienced men, are also selected in such a way as to be representative of the Californian Parole Service as a whole.

Special emphasis is placed on the need for the fullest co-operation between the authorities concerned, *i.e.*, the Department of Corrections, the Adult Authority and the Chief Parole Officer, and between the Parole Officers I and II, and also on improved parole recording. The whole programme, of which only the bare outlines can here be included, has been devised with the greatest care. A new post of Senior Sociologist has been created to co-ordinate and integrate the Special Intensive Training Unit into a meaningful programme, and an Advisory Committee has been appointed on which, among others, the University of Southern California in Los Angeles and the School of Criminology at the University of California in Berkeley are represented.

The first results of this project will be awaited with great interest by after-care authorities and penologists everywhere.

H. M.

NOTES AND CRITICISMS

CLASSIFICATION

Our modern use of the term classification in corrections is reminiscent of Lombroso's abortive effort to fit offenders into rigidly defined categories, an approach from which we now shrink with horror. But this ill-chosen and misleading term identifies one of the most promising movements in the correctional field of to-day. It has become the label for all professional efforts to understand the criminal as an individual and piece together a programme of rehabilitation realistically adapted to his needs. The term, in its best usage, suggests a sequence of events rather than a single function: first, there are the specialized contributions of various clinical workers who prepare case studies; at some point there should occur a meaningful collaboration between these professional people and those individuals who are responsible for custody and the direction of institutional programmes; and, finally, there must be a day-by-day adjustment of the inmate's relationships and activity to make them consistent with the treatment plan worked out for him. *Thus, in a broad sense, classification may be understood as the medium through which experts on human behaviour, the social scientists, may communicate with experts on treatment programmes, the penal heads, probation and parole administrators, judges and public prosecutors.* Classification occurs only to the extent that such communication actually does take place. Therefore it necessarily involves friction and adjustment between occupational groups traditionally wary of each other. This is one reason why the achievement of optimal efficiency in classification efforts must be a gradual process.

The most successful of recent efforts to ' classify ' offenders have occurred in reception centres which carry out a specialized function of diagnostic evaluation

pointing toward the assignment of each individual processed to an appropriate institution and training programme. This arrangement permits the creation of an atmosphere of clinical objectivity within which each case may be appraised in terms of the various resources available to meet the problems identified. The English Borstal system has adopted this approach, as have both New York and California, while growth on a smaller scale in several Canadian provinces clearly is in this direction.

It is possible to make a strong case for the geographical separation of classification centres from all of the institutions to which they send inmates after the task of case study has been completed. This arrangement would help to protect the centre from stale traditions and local pressures inevitably present when a clinical programme is established in the shadow of a parent institution steeped in the very attitudes which classification seeks to overcome. Thus far in North America, however, considerations of economy usually have succeeded in blocking the creation of a truly autonomous programme of this kind.

The diagnostic side of correctional classification is being carried out, with increasing frequency, by teams of professional workers rather than single clinicians. This multi-discipline approach typically includes representatives of psychiatry, psychology and either social work or sociology, while teachers, vocational counsellors and other specialists are included in some programmes. The correctional field has long sought infallible opinions regarding difficult cases from the various experts which have served it. In this process we have learned to be wary of the omnipotent judgment, however distinguished its originator, and have come to depend instead upon a pooling of the insights reached by a well-balanced group of workers who draw their skills from diversified backgrounds, the goal of such efforts being a synthesis of data and opinion. This approach does not preclude considerable latitude on the part of individual clinicians in reaching independent positions on a given case prior to the staff conference in which a treatment plan is crystallized.

In addition to the professional contributions mentioned above, the voice of custody is being welcomed to-day in many a case discussion within the reception centre. This trend recognizes the truism that custody and treatment are indispensable to each other within the prison, and that an integration of the two may begin quite logically at the level of treatment planning. A custodial officer who has supervised an inmate during the process of classification may supply information otherwise beyond our reach.

Experience with classification programmes has served to make clear the very real danger that those workers who prepare case studies may lose contact with the institutions to which they channel inmates. The diagnostician, labouring under an excessively heavy case load, may cease to be aware of the nature of the resources which he is supposed to be mobilizing for each offender. His comments then become abstract and unrelated to the programme which is to follow. Moreover, in these circumstances, we fail to capitalize upon the ability of the clinical worker to help organise penal programmes in terms of the human needs which he sees daily at close perspective. Therefore, it is imperative that provision be made administratively for an intimate and continuing liaison between the workers responsible for planning treatment and those responsible for implementation of the plans.

The difficulties involved in any large-scale programme of case study have made clear a need for classification within classification—that is, a need to be highly selective in determining which cases merit a large investment of professional time and effort. The criteria used in making such decisions should include a judgment as to the treatability of the case as well as the degree of severity and intricacy of the personality problems involved. A routinized system which attempts to offer standardized diagnostic services to all comers fails to take into account the subtle and endless differences between human beings. The plain fact is that we shall never, in the foreseeable future, have time to carry out intensive studies of all offenders. We must be realistic in concentrating our efforts where the most can be accomplished. The young usually must take precedence over the old; those motivated to re-establish social living patterns deserve our attention over those who are long-standing rebels against community authority. We must avoid allocating disproportionate amounts of our total facilities to the study of pathological conditions for which no amount of nicely worded description permits an effective course of treatment.

It is important that the leadership of the reception centre recognize a responsibility to initiate the process of rehabilitation as well as to carry out the function of case study. The newly committed inmate, immersed in a schedule of tests and interviews, will not understand a mandate that he must hold his needs in abeyance until they have been identified officially and tagged with the proper label. Efforts to carry out a treatment programme within the classification centre usually have been organized on a group basis because of unceasing demands on the time of case workers. These attempts to operate a modified group therapy programme, sometimes called ' guidance counselling ', have not been very successful unless skilled group leaders have been available to do the job at a truly professional level. We should remember, however, that the anxieties and emotional involvements of the offender may be more accessible to us in the early days of his prison career than at any other stage; and it follows that the treatment aspect of the reception centre programme should not be considered secondary either as regards the recruitment of qualified workers or the scheduling of inmate activity. The guidance counselling group, in addition to its deeper therapeutic functions, should orient offenders to the purposes of the case study programme and to the realities of the institutional experience which lies ahead of them.

Perhaps a comment upon the classification report itself is in order. Clinical workers who prepare such reports earnestly and properly defend their right to present their impressions fully and to qualify them adequately. Busy institutional workers and harassed parole board members, on the other hand, call attention to the virtues of brevity, and ask for conclusions rather than speculations. We may not expect entirely to reconcile these opposing points of view, but the conflict may be lessened by a format for case reporting which permits presentation of *both* types of material, evaluative data in one section of the admission summary and a synopsis of salient features of the case in another. The California report form has developed in this direction over a period of several years.

The case study aspect of classification programmes is viewed far too often as an end in itself, the apparent supposition being that the treatment needs of the offender are met at the instant that they are enumerated in technical language and made a part of a central file. This tendency to deceive ourselves by interpreting

the diagnosis as a panacea has so haunted our efforts that some classification workers confess privately to the conviction that the multitude of words which they feed into dictating machines are never even read, much less implemented in activity. The information and insights so laboriously accumulated through case study are meaningful only to the extent that they become a vital and constructive part of the inmate's daily life, impinging upon his custodial rating, vocational training, recreation, housing, discipline and education.

Classification should be understood as an innovation in the correctional scheme which is most effective when used in conjunction with other soundly conceived innovations. Thus, for example, use of the indeterminate sentence gives weight to the conclusions reached in case study by providing a legal basis for the return of the offender to the community at the time judged best for that action. Similarly, classification gains a new dimension of application when it is supported by the kind of staff training programme which develops an understanding of human behaviour and treatment philosophies on the part of those workers who form relationships with offenders and contact them intimately during the time of their incarceration. And so also with other forward-looking trends in corrections—parole, inmate education, group therapy -each supplements and strengthens the other.

Finally, it is necessary to comment upon the attitude with which we approach classification if we are to understand clearly the end product achieved. On one occasion, when I was employed in a prison reception centre, the press published a lengthy description of our programme in which it was stated that we were operating nothing less than a ' cosmic microscope '. The offender was pictured as a wriggling bug beneath this infallible machine, attempting vainly to conceal the evidences of his evil nature which we resolutely proceeded to discover and record. It is granted that such an interpretation of classification may have a considerable appeal to the public, and especially to those individuals so constituted psychologically that they must feel punitively toward the offender if they are to feel content with themselves. It is somewhat more alarming that many workers in the correctional field understand classification at about this same level. We must realize, however, that any case study effort premised on such an approach ultimately will result in failure. We must be positively rather than negatively oriented in our investigations of the human personality; otherwise our efforts will deteriorate into fancy devices for calling the offender names in which we substitute a psychological term for a four-letter word.

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'WRONG' IN THE M'NAGHTEN RULES

Considerable interest has been aroused amongst criminal lawyers by two recent decisions in which the English Court of Criminal Appeal and the High Court of Australia have taken diametrically opposite views of the meaning of the word 'wrong' in the second limb of the M'Naghten Rules. This dispute is of interest not only to lawyers but to all those persons such as psychiatrists and prison medical officers who have to apply the Rules in relation to particular cases. A critical note on the English case written by a barrister and a consulting psychiatrist appeared in this Journal in October 1953 (Vol. IV, p. 128), but the recent Australian case invites further reflection on the matter. The second limb of the Rules only applies when it is established that the prisoner knew the nature and quality of his act. The question then is whether he knew that what he was doing was wrong.

Although the meaning of this part of the Rules has been extensively considered by text-book writers, it has hardly been examined in the Courts at all, and such authority as there is has not been very satisfactory. Yet it is obviously of the greatest importance, for the fate of the prisoner must frequently depend upon the meaning attached to the word 'wrong' in this context.

The matter was considered in 1916 in *R.* v. *Codere* (1), where it was argued that to establish legal responsibility, it was not enough to show that the prisoner knew that his act was punishable by law. The accused should be judged by the standard which he believed to be that of the majority of reasonable men, and 'it would probably be sufficient . . . if he knew . . . that the act would be condemned and regarded as wrong by his fellow-creatures'. The appeal was dismissed on the ground that a person who knows that his conduct is contrary to law must be presumed to know that it is wrong. But the Court was careful not to rule out the possibility that wrong might have a wider meaning than illegal.

In the recent case before the Court of Criminal Appeal, *R.* v. *Windle* (2), the trial judge had taken the unusual course of withdrawing the issue of insanity from the jury because the medical evidence was slight and because it was clear that the accused knew that he was doing an act forbidden by law. On the appeal, an attempt was made to attach a wider meaning to 'wrong' than simply illegal or contrary to law, but Lord Goddard, C.J. held that knowledge of illegality concluded the matter, and the appeal was dismissed.

Thus far the case would appear to add nothing to what was decided in *R.* v. *Codere*, but the judgment of the Lord Chief Justice did not stop there. Whereas in *Codere* Lord Reading had been cautious not to rule that the word 'wrong' had no other meaning but illegal, Lord Goddard in *Windle* roundly condemned the view that the word might be interpreted to mean morally wrong according to the standards of reasonable men. He said there was no doubt that the word 'wrong' in the M'Naghten Rules means contrary to law.

It is submitted with the greatest respect that these views leave the law in an unsatisfactory state, and that, so long as the M'Naghten Rules remain in force, an early opportunity should be sought to reconsider the matter, either in the Court of Criminal Appeal itself (which has power to overrule its own previous decisions) or by taking a case to the House of Lords. The reasons for objecting to the result are that it rules out the possibility of establishing a defence of insanity in all cases where the accused knew his act was illegal, and that it allows the possibility of

making out such a defence in all cases where he did not, even though it may be clear that the accused knew that what he was doing was morally wrong.

It was for the first reason that the Australian High Court, in *Stapleton* v. *The Queen* (3), recently refused to follow *R.* v. *Windle*, and held instead that the test was whether the prisoner could think rationally of the reasons which to ordinary people make the act in question right or wrong. ' If through the disordered condition of the mind he could not reason about the matter with a moderate degree of sense and composure it may be said that he could not know that what he was doing was wrong '. (4) It has been said of this decision that it means that henceforth ' Australian courts will allow the defence of insanity to succeed if the accused believed his action to be right, thought the general morality of the community agreed with him, but knew it was against the law '. (5) It appears that most American courts adopt the wider notion of the meaning of ' wrong ', and this has been accepted in the American Supreme Court. (6)

The second objection to the ruling in *R.* v. *Windle* is that where the accused has no knowledge of the illegality of his conduct, because of his mental condition, under this ruling he must be found insane even though it is clear that he knew that what he was doing was something he ought not to do — in other words, in some cases it is too lenient to the accused. This situation can hardly arise in relation to a murder charge, for most persons who were so insane that they did not know that the killing of a human being was a crime would no doubt be found insane. But, outside the law of homicide, the ruling might have strange results. (7) The judges who propounded the M'Naghten Rules were surely wise in saying that ' if the accused was conscious that the act was one that he ought not to do, and if the act was at the same time contrary to the law of the land, he is punishable . . . ' As that most distinguished American Judge, Cardozo, J., said in *People* v. *Schmidt* (8), ' the Judges expressly held that a defendant who knew nothing of the law would none the less be responsible if he knew that the act was wrong, by which, therefore, they must have meant, if he knew it was morally wrong '.

Condemnation of the ruling in *R.* v. *Windle* has been unanimous. (9) As a working rule or rule of convenience it may possibly be defensible, but as a rule of law and justice, it cannot be supported.

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REFERENCES

(1) (1916) 12 Cr. App. Rep. 21.
(2) (1952) 2 All E.R. 1.
(3) (1952) 86 C.L.R. 358.
(4) This phrase comes from the judgment of Dixon, J. in *R.* v. *Porter* (1936), 55 C.L.R. 182, and was expressly adopted by the High Court of Australia in *Stapleton's* case.
(5) Norval Morris: ' " Wrong " in the M'Naghten Rules ', 16 *Modern Law Review* 435, October, 1953. P. 439.
(6) The same writer, in an article entitled ' Daniel M'Naghten and the Death Penalty ', 6 *Res Judicatae* 304, at p. 316. Two articles on the same subject have been written by another Australian law teacher, G. H. L. Fridman, ' The M'Naghten Rules in Australia ', 103 *Law Journal* 620, September 25

1953; ' Moral Insanity and the M'Naghten Rules ', 68 *Journal of Criminal Law* 370, October, 1953.

(7) This is a point made by the writer of the present note, in an article entitled ' " Wrong " in the M'Naghten Rules ', 103 *Law Journal* 148, March 6, 1953.

(8) (1915), 216 N.Y. 324.

(9) Professor Glanville Williams is highly critical of the *Windle* case in his new treatise, ' Criminal Law—The General Part ', 1953, pp. 323 *et seq.* His voice is a powerful addition to the chorus of condemnation of this ruling.

CATALOGUE OF FILMS ON PSYCHOLOGY, 1953

The Scientific Film Association, 164 Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C.2. 1953. 7*s.* 6*d.*

This catalogue is a continuation and completion of the earlier list of films on psychology published by the SFA in 1949. It contains a list of 107 films, of which about 70 have been appraised by panels of the SFA using methods evolved over the last ten years. The films listed in the Catalogue include only those made between 1930 and 1953 and believed to be obtainable in the United Kingdom.

The films are divided into the following categories:

I. *Developmental psychology* (20 films). This includes films on early child development, locomotion and manipulation, the genesis of emotions, some early difficulties in training, as well as films illustrating general principles of bringing up the young child.

II. *Educational psychology* (20 films). The films in this category show stages in the educational development of children and the school conditions suitable for the optimum growth of the school child intellectually and socially. Such well-known films as *Children Learning by Experience* and *Children Growing up with Other People* are included, as well as those in which the emphasis is laid on teaching method in the class room. There is an interesting group on the care of the handicapped child, the mentally and physically defective, and the deprived child.

III. *Testing Techniques* (5 films).

IV. *Industrial and applied psychology* (11 films). The films range from accident proneness to occupational therapy and rehabilitation techniques.

V. *Animal and Experimental psychology* (14 films).

VI. *Abnormal psychology and psychiatry* (30 films). This is possibly the most interesting section both from the general and teaching point of view. It includes the well-known *Mental Mechanisms* and *Mental Symptoms* series issued by the National Film Board of Canada, some of which are suitable for general audiences, but most of which would not only be suitable but very valuable for teaching purposes to audiences with psychological and psychiatric interests and knowledge. The films cover not only abnormal mental states in adults, but also the genesis of some behaviour problems in children. (In some of these films psychiatric and simple psychotherapeutic measures for dealing with these conditions are shown; others are devoted entirely to the exposition of such measures.)

VII. *Juvenile delinquency* (7 films). The fact that these films are only suitable for showing to general audiences, since in the main the subject is treated rather superficially, is no reflection on those who compiled the Catalogue, but only on the paucity of films dealing with this subject in anything but a general and rather superficial way. Included in this section are the well known *Children of the City* and *Children on Trial*. The two which are most valuable are both transatlantic: Slavson's *Group Therapy* which strikingly illustrates the principles and practice of this technique, and *Angry Boy*, one of the U.S. Mental Health Film Board's productions, which is an excellent account of the genesis of stealing in a boy referred to a Child Guidance Clinic.

The Catalogue will be very valuable to all those who use or wish to use films, whether in teaching specialist audiences at a University or Training College level, or in lecturing to teachers, Parent-Teacher Associations, or groups of parents.

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CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL COURSE IN CRIMINOLOGY

The Fourth International Course in Criminology took place in London from March 24 to April 13, 1954, under the direction of Dr. Denis Carroll and Dr. Hermann Mannheim. It was organized by the International Society of Criminology with the support of UNESCO and the co-operation of the British Council. Held at the Headquarters of the Council, 65 Davies Street, London, W.1, it was attended by fifty-five full-time and thirty part-time members coming from seventeen countries in Europe, Asia, Australia, Africa, and North America, and representing the different aspects of Criminology and Penology, notably Prison Administration, After-Care, Probation work, Psychiatry and Psychology, Sociology and Police Science. The subject of the Course was ' Recent Advances in the Study and Treatment of Offenders '. The opening session was addressed by the Directors and by Monsieur Jean Pinatel, Paris, Inspector-General in the French Ministry of the Interior and Secretary-General of the International Society of Criminology. Lecturers included Professor Paul Cornil, Brussels; Monsieur Charles Germain, Director-General of Penal Administration, Paris; Mr. D. Q. Mulock Houwer, Director of Children's Home, Zandbergen, Holland; Miss H. M. Tjensvoll, Lecturer in Criminology, Oslo; and, from Great Britain, Sir Lionel Fox, Chairman of the Prison Commission for England and Wales; Mr. R. L. Bradley, Prison Commissioner; Mr. Duncan Fairn, Director of Prison Administration; Dr. H. K. Snell, Director of Prison Medical Services; Mr. John Ross, Under-Secretary of State, Home Office; Mr. Basil Henriques, J.P.; Dr. Edward Glover, Dr. Sessions Hodge, Dr. Denis Hill, Dr. Peter Scott, Dr. Maxwell Jones, Dr. John Spencer, Mr. Hugh Klare, and the Directors. Among the subjects discussed were the treatment of persistent offenders in prison and their treatment by law and psychiatry; Borstal Institutions and After-Care; Approved Schools and Schools for Maladjusted Children; Classification; Detention and Attendance Centres; Institutions for juvenile delinquents on the Continent; Probation; Juvenile Courts and Scandinavian Child Welfare Councils; Police Techniques in the field of

Prevention; E.E.G. Studies of Offenders; Hormone Treatment of Sex Offenders; the Ambulant Study and Treatment of Offenders; Group Treatment of Aggressive Psychopaths; and the Psycho-analytic Study and Treatment of Offenders. There were also reports on recent research projects on Prediction; on the work of the London Juvenile Courts; on Mental Deficiency and Delinquency; and on Community Studies related to Juvenile Delinquency.

In addition to formal lectures followed by general discussions small informal discussion groups and visits of observation in small groups were arranged.

DENIS CARROLL.
HERMANN MANNHEIM.

THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON CRIMINOLOGY

The Third International Congress on Criminology, promoted by the International Society of Criminology, will be held in London from September 11 to 18, 1955 inclusive. A British Organizing Committee has been formed under the Chairmanship of Dr. Denis Carroll, President of the International Society of Criminology.

The main topic of the Congress will be RECIDIVISM, which will be discussed in five sections:

1. Definition and Statistical Survey.
2. Descriptive Study of the Forms of Recidivism and their Evolution.
3. Causes of Recidivism.
4. Prognosis of Recidivism.
5. Treatment of Recidivism.

Specialists in Anthropology, Biology, Sociology, the Mental Sciences, who are interested in the application of these Sciences to the problem of crime, as well as specialists in Forensic Science, Police Science, and Penitentiary Science are cordially invited to attend the Congress, and Universities, Faculties, Associations, etc., are asked to send representatives.

The official languages of the Congress will be English, French and Spanish.

All communications concerning the Congress should be addressed to: The Congress Secretary, Mr. A. I. Tudor, C.B.E., 28 Weymouth Street, London, W.1.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF CRIMINO-BIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The Eighth Conference of the Crimino-biological Society (*Kriminalbiologische Gesellschaft*) will be held in Graz from September 26 to 29, 1954. The scientific programme will deal mainly with the problem of types and that of combination of causal factors in crime. The details will be announced later on.

Enquiries should be addressed to the Office of the Crimino-biological Society, University Institute of Criminology, Graz, Austria, Mozartgasse 3.

THE INSTITUTIONAL TREATMENT OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS

A seminar on Institutional Treatment of Juvenile Offenders will be held in Vienna, in English, from September 27 to October 9, 1954. It will be organized by the European Office of the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration in co-operation with the Austrian Ministries of Social Affairs, Justice and Education, and the Municipality of Vienna.

REVIEWS

OPPRESSION: A STUDY IN SOCIAL AND CRIMINAL PSYCHOLOGY. By T. Grygier. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd. 1954. Pp. xiv + 362. Price 28s.)

This is an account of a remarkable endeavour to examine and to measure the effects which oppression and subjugation can produce in the personalities and social activities of the victims. The author, who is of Polish origin, had himself suffered the hardship of a Soviet labour camp. In 1946 he set out from London to study the effects of oppression in compatriots of his who had been deported by the Germans and who, since their liberation, had spent a year in the fairly uniform, though far from satisfactory, conditions which prevailed in U.N.R.R.A. camps for Displaced Persons (D.P.'s) in the southern part of the U.S. zone in Germany. He was successful in enlisting the co-operation of Polish D.P.'s, but largely failed in Jewish camps.

The samples of people selected for examination were carefully equated, they were given psychological tests (Otis Alpha test of intelligence, Rosenzweig's Picture-Frustration Study, and an abbreviated Thematic Apperception Test), and the results were evaluated by statistical analysis.

The main hypothesis was that oppression had a socially corrupting influence on the personality of the oppressed, causing an increase of extrapunitive tendencies and thus favouring the occurrence of aggressive and delinquent behaviour. To test the hypothesis the subjects were divided into matched groups according to the degree of oppression they had had to endure (forced labour in industry, agriculture or concentration camp), and a further comparison was made between delinquent D.P.'s, who had been imprisoned for offences committed in the U.N.R.R.A. camps, and their non-delinquent compeers.

The very careful matching of groups, together with the exclusion of people of inadequate intelligence and of those who had endured several categories of oppression, made the finally selected sample of 150 subjects (out of a total D.P. population in that area of 4,500) rather unrepresentative. It was, however, established later, when the data were analyzed, that a more random selection of sample groups would probably not have altered the results, as some of the equated variables (such as social standing, educational background, and level of above-average intelligence) were found to have no association with the effects produced by oppression.

The scores of the Picture-Frustration Study and the Thematic Apperception Test appear to support the author's hypothesis, at least as far as male D.P.'s are concerned. The severest oppression, as exemplified in the ex-concentration camp groups, seems to have warped the personalities of its victims who became more egocentric, rigid and demanding, imagined the world to be hostile and frustrating, and tended to turn their aggression rebelliously against the social environment. The same qualities were found to characterize delinquent male D.P.'s in general, even if they had never been inmates of concentration camps. It is thus not surprising to learn that the delinquency rate in ex-concentration camp groups after liberation was at least 45 times higher than in D.P. groups with a history of transportation to industry or agriculture.

From the liberally reported data one may, however, arrive at a slightly different interpretation of the results. Even if the Nazis sent Polish men (but not women) to concentration camps more or less at random, it is possible to assume that the survivors of this murderously oppressive régime did not undergo a permanent change of personality, but had always been egocentric, unscrupulous and extrapunitive. This interpretation of the ' survival of the fittest ' would be in agreement with the author's subsidiary thesis that in societies subjected to oppression there is a change of culture, that—in Nietzsche's terminology—a Dionysian society would result; lawless, aggressive, and full of conflicts.

The book also contains a wealth of stimulating and thought-provoking reflections touching on a variety of problems in social and criminal psychology.

F. KRÄUPL TAYLOR.

CRIMINAL LAW—THE GENERAL PART. By Glanville L. Williams. (London: Stevens & Sons Ltd. 1953. Pp. xliv + 736 (with Index). Price £3 3s.)

The dust cover of this new treatise describes Criminal Law as the Cinderella of legal science, because its growing importance in practice has not hitherto been matched in thought and literature. This may be a fair comment on the position until quite recently, but times are changing, and nowadays there is evidence of an increasing interest in the problems of criminal law and administration, not only among legal practitioners, who are acutely aware of the rapidly extending boundaries of criminal law in the field of minor statutory offences, but also among law teachers and researchers, who have been devoting more and more attention to the analysis of the principles underlying these developments. One example of the latter trend is this important new work by Professor Glanville Williams, who has already made a name for himself as an outstanding scholar in the field of private law.

This book is concerned, so the Preface informs us, ' to search out the general principles of the criminal law, that is to say those principles that apply to more than one crime '. It represents a conscious attempt to fill the need for an up-to-date exposition of the fundamental theories underlying the subject. Professor Williams hopes to deal with specific crimes in a later volume. He is at pains to point out that his approach is that of the lawyer, not of the criminologist or penologist or mental expert, yet he says that he has ' seriously endeavoured to put the law into the setting of modern penological and psychiatric thought '. Although there can be no doubt that this was something which sorely needed to be done, it should be realized that this was an enormous undertaking.

However, Professor Williams is not the man to be daunted by the magnitude of the task, and he brings special gifts of understanding and erudition to the enterprise. The result is a truly remarkable book, which excites the reader's fancy and arouses his admiration. Yet a few points must be made.

Much reliance is placed upon logical analysis, yet the author repeatedly points out the limitations of such an approach to the solution of criminal law problems. Occasionally these warnings appear to have been ignored by the writer himself, and the resulting discussion is not very convincing. It is possible that insufficient attention is given to the relation between principle and policy (or expediency) in the development of the criminal law. There are few fields of law where the competing claims of principle and policy can be more clearly seen, and none where policy so frequently wins the day.

The book commences with an analysis of the requisites of a criminal act, and the notions of intention, recklessness and negligence. There is much that is original in these first three chapters: for example, the idea that a mental element is involved in the notion of *actus reus*, and that the concept of recklessness includes an element of negligence, which ideas conflict with the views of Mr. J. W. C. Turner, but are so persuasively argued that they win almost instantaneous allegiance. There are chapters on The Unintended Victim or Mode, Principals and Accessories, Mens Rea as affected by Ignorance of Fact. The notions of Strict Responsibility and Vicarious Responsibility are exhaustively considered, and much light is thrown upon the difficulties created by modern legislation enacting minor offences. Next follow chapters on Mental Abnormality, Drunkenness, Ignorance of Law, Attempt, Conspiracy, two stimulating chapters on Preventive Justice and the Principle of Legality, and a group of chapters on Necessity, Duress and Coercion, and Consent. There are also chapters on Children and Young Persons, Corporations and The Burden of Proof.

Readers of this Journal may be interested to learn that Professor Williams rejects the idea which is sometimes put forward that the notion of legal responsibility should be abandoned in relation to children and persons of unsound mind (see § 10), and he puts the lawyer's answers to these suggestions most effectively. Furthermore, the chapters on Mental Abnormality and Children and Young Persons are informed by a genuine interest and concern for the mentally afflicted and the young offender, which makes them of absorbing interest. Whether it is necessary to devote over twelve pages to the discussion of the delusion test in the M'Naghten Rules, which we have always understood to be in disuse, is debatable. What is not open to question is that from the point of view of the study and treatment of delinquency, these are the outstanding chapters in what has already been described as a truly remarkable book.

J. E. Hall Williams.

The Origins of Psycho-analysis: Letters to Wilhelm Fliess, Drafts and Notes 1887-1902. By Sigmund Freud. (London: Imago Publishing Co. 1954. Pp. 486. Price 30s. net.)

This is without question one of the books of the century. Written over a period of fifteen years to Wilhelm Fliess, a physician and biologist who though eminent in his own field was destined to act as a foil to his more brilliant contemporary, Freud's letters, preserved by a number of happy chances, not only relate with simple artistry the story of those early scientific wrestlings that led him to the discovery of the 'unconscious' mind, and describe the crises which, arising during his early explorations of that unknown continent, threatened to break the new instrument of psycho-analysis in the hands of its inventor, but give us also a self-portrait, warmer and more authentic than any biography, of Freud the man, the father of a growing family, the struggling consultant, handicapped at times with inner frailties, yet always observing himself with the same unflinching candour that distinguished his attitude to life and work. Although of peculiar and lasting interest to students of psychology of whatever degree or persuasion, this is a book for all who are capable of being stirred by the drama of genius unfolding.

E. G.

PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES—and other devices for Understanding the Dynamics of Human Behaviour. Edited by Harold H. Anderson and Gladys L. Anderson. (New York : Prentice Hall Inc. 1952. Pp. 720.)

A number of leading authorities on this subject contribute to this volume. They all accept Freud's definition of projection as a defence mechanism. The Rorschach Test, the Szondi Test, Thematic Apperception Test, and many others cover more than projection; indeed they claim to lay bare many kinds of mechanisms and symbols which enter into human relationships.

While these tests in the hands of their supporters claim extraordinary penetrative powers, they all lack the validation which more quantitative tests already possess. To quantify the very tenuous qualities of the mind is no easy matter, and until we can define dimensions of the mind which have classificatory significance we will run the risk of giving the more fluid activities of mind a definition which will lose for them their essential human quality. Interpretation is still subject to the operator's attitude as well as that of the testee. Yet in fact this very subjective factor is not without its value ; it has indeed some of the value of the novelist who builds up character, and therefore it sheds its own light perhaps as penetrating as that of the statisticians.

As *pointers* or *indicators* however these tests cannot be underestimated. They have come to stay and are an essential part of the psychiatrist's box of instruments, checks on the interview and confirmatory at times of analytical findings. Indeed based, as so many are, on analytical concepts, they may be too confirmatory!

From the point of view of delinquency, they have so far not added any insight of a specific character although delinquent motivation may be inferred in the responses of the apparently blameless. Whether this is prediction remains to be seen.

The book is very exhaustive and well documented and both the enthusiast and the critically minded will find it useful.

E. M.

THE WISCONSIN PRISONER. Studies in Criminogenesis. By John Lewis Gillin. (The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin. Second Printing 1947. XIII and 266 pp. Price $4.[1])

Dr. Gillin and his team made a careful study of 486 inmates of the Wisconsin State Prison, consisting of 92 life prisoners, mainly murderers, (excluding only 16 lifers who were either too ill or for other reasons unsuitable), 128 rapists and sodomists (i.e. all except 3), and 266, i.e. every third property offender. No exact dates are given as to when these men were studied, but from the Introduction it seems that the whole investigation must have been going on since 1930, as reports by the author on certain aspects of this research have been published in America and German periodicals from 1933 onwards. The technique of research consisted of (*a*) statistical analysis of a large number of factors (biological, anthropological, and psychiatric aspects were included only where they appeared incidentally); (*b*) personal interviews; (*c*) some autobiographies; (*d*) a control group of 172 non-criminal brothers. A number of case histories are given, based on the interviews and autobiographies.

[1] The review copy of this book reached the Editorial Board only at the end of 1952, which explains the delay in publishing this review.

The objects of the research were to study the differences (*a*) between the three categories of prisoners, *i.e.* murderers, sex offenders, and property offenders, and (*b*) between these criminals and their non-criminal brothers. It was found that there were many important differences between the three categories, and that in particular the property offenders differed from the others. While this might well have been expected, it was surprising that the property offenders had, on the whole, a more favourable background than the others. There were also many differences between the prisoners and their brothers, some of them apparently going back to early childhood experiences, and a few not easy to relate to later criminal conduct. More of the prisoners, for example, regarded themselves as the favourites of their mothers—a difference which, as the author points out, may be open to a variety of interpretations.

A scholar of Dr. Gillin's wide experience was not likely to over-estimate the reliability of his material and the validity of his findings. Clearly, the material was not representative of the American prisoner—men of German stock were much more frequent than they would have been in prisons of most other States of U.S.A. Nor could the control group of brothers be regarded as well selected in view of the noticeable 'bias toward stability' and of significant differences in age. The size of some of the samples was too small for statistical manipulation, and information on many factors was too often altogether missing. In view of these and other shortcomings, not too much weight should be attached to the findings of this study, and its value lies perhaps more in the wisdom displayed by Dr. Gillin in his cautious interpretation of his results, in his emphasis on the need for better material and more refined techniques which would enable us to study 'certain permutations and combinations' of factors, 'the exact nature of which we do not yet know'. H. M.

SUICIDE. A Study in Sociology. By Emile Durkheim. Translated by John A. Spaulding and George Simpson. Edited with an Introduction by George Simpson. (The International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London. 1952. 404 pp. Price 25s.)

Durkheim was not only a great sociologist: the many contributions he made to criminological thought and penal philosophy were also of the first order. The first English translation of one of his major works, published more than fifty years after the appearance of the original, is therefore an important event to the criminologist, in particular to the academic teacher of criminology who knows only too well how many of his students are reluctant to tackle a difficult French text. In a brief review no thorough assessment can be made of the place of this classic in modern criminology. Moreover, we are here concerned less with Durkheim's own work than with this new edition. In his very valuable Introduction the editor, who also deserves full credit as one of the translators, has made a successful attempt to answer at least some of the questions which present-day readers are likely to ask. He leaves no doubt that the scientific advances which have been made in the course of this half-century, notably in the fields of statistical and psycho-analytical techniques, have considerably weakened the persuasive force of some of Durkheim's main arguments, and he also presents an interesting list of hypotheses for future research, based on the assumption that 'suicidal behaviour is a combination of psycho-instinctual impulse and social precipitation'.

There are two important aspects of Durkheim's work on which no special comment is made in the Introduction: his views on the relation between suicide and homicide and the legal punishment of suicide. On the former controversy, which has been carried on for more than a century, Professor Veli Verkko has recently produced new material and certain criticisms of Durkheim which could not have been available to the editor at the time of writing.[2] On the latter, one might have wished that, in view of the fact that attempted suicide is still a legal offence in this and a few other countries, attention might have been drawn to Durkheim's arguments against its penalization by the law.

H. M.

A People's Conscience. Six Typical Enquiries (1729-1837) by Select Committees of the House of Commons. By Strathearn Gordon and T. G. B. Cocks. (Constable & Co. Ltd., London. 1952. 252 pp. Price 21s.)

Although this makes no claim to be anything but a popular collection it gives an excellent picture of the work of Parliamentary Committees of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. After a brief general Introduction, which some readers might have wished to be somewhat fuller, the story of six such Enquiries is told in detail, mainly but not exclusively from the Minutes of Evidence. The stories are those of Oglethorpe's Committee on the Debtors' Prisons; of the various Enquiries into the state of crime and the police in early nineteenth century England; of Bennet's Committee on the 'climbing boys'; of the 1827 Committee on lunatics; of the 1832 Committee on the factory children; and of Molesworth's Committee on transportation of 1837. While every single one of these Enquiries is of interest to the historian and humanitarian, the first, second and last of them are the immediate concern of the penologist. With regard to transportation, for example, 'the evidence of Molesworth's Committee', the authors conclude, 'may still have some value in demonstrating the ultimate stages which deterrent punishment may attain'.

H. M.

Comparative Survey on Juvenile Delinquency: Part I, North America. (United Nations Publication, Sept. 1952. Pp. vii + 132. Price 7s. 6d.)

The first report was compiled by Dr. Paul W. Tappan, Professor of Sociology in New York University. He has done an excellent job. He has clearly visualized the reader who will know something of the processes of the law and the treatment of offenders in his own country but who will need facts and some evaluation concerning another country. The facts—and a surprising amount is compressed into a small space—are presented in digestible form and there is enough evaluation to give the book life without unduly interfering with objectivity. The style is generally concise and clear to an English reader.

The picture could be very complicated if the differing practices of the various American States and the Canadian provinces were set out in detail, but Prof. Tappan describes common policy and relegates the major regional differences to summarized tables. In the broadest sense the problem seems to be very much like the problem in this country. The incidence of juvenile delinquency, judged

[2] See B.J.D., Vol. III, p. 140.

from court appearances, is about the same, but rather more of those convicted seem to receive residential treatment and the proportion of girls to boys is higher. Juvenile courts were instituted (in Chicago) in 1861 and are commonly presided over by salaried judges. Probation officers carry out pre-trial investigations and treatment in the open, but remand homes are comparatively unknown. Remand in custody usually takes place in a section of a jail. Reformatories are large, some for boys accommodating from 1,500 to 2,000 children, and Prof. Tappan becomes almost suspiciously objective in describing them. He permits himself one dry comment: there has been, he says, 'an astounding emphasis upon organized games both for the prevention and the treatment of delinquency'.

One point is made several times, that Children's Courts in the United States 'are characterized by a skirting of the issue of guilt'. There is a tendency to treat the court as a welfare agency and it appears that 'to-day some 50 per cent or more of the cases handled by the juvenile courts are treated unofficially, without an adjudication of delinquency'. A chapter on 'prevention' has a familiar ring. 'The result of the widely assorted and, to a great extent, inconsistent methods that are being empirically pursued to diminish delinquency in our large cities, without any over-all philosophy or administration, is characteristically quite spotty and inadequate services'. But co-ordinating committees (reminding one of the Liverpool scheme) have been more effective.

This is an admirable handbook, essential reading for all students of the subject.

J. S. GITTINS.

PROSPECTS IN PSYCHIATRIC RESEARCH. Edited by J. M. Tanner, M.D. (Oxford: Blackwell Publications. 1953. Pp. xi + 197. 21s. net.)

Team-research being the fashion of the time, it was appropriate that the Mental Research Fund should have convened a conference at Oxford where some fifty experts drawn from various branches of science, not excluding physiology, met to discuss, as the dust-cover tells us, 'what ignorances hamper our understanding of mental illness'. This book presents the proceedings of the Conference.

In its present form it is essentially a book for the advanced student, who will no doubt read it with mingled admiration and exasperation. For it is in the nature of get-together conferences to compensate with polite generalizations for the absence of any very precise interchange of ideas, rendered in a common dialect. Incidentally, the book would have benefited by vigorous use of the blue-pencil. For, shorn of platitudinous interchanges, it would have boiled down to a useful memorandum on the subject.

E. G.

THE REVIVAL OF INTEREST IN THE DREAM. By Robert Fliess, M.D. (New York: International Universities Press. 1953. Pp. 164. Price $3.0.)

This book surveys the contributions to the Freudian theory of dreams during the years following Freud's death. The author combines apposite quotations from the works of various psycho-analytical authors with a running theoretical commentary. Essentially a book for the psycho-analytical student.

E. G.

MENTAL HEALTH AND THE PSYCHO-NEUROSES. The abridged edition of 'Psychology and Mental Health'. By J. A. Hadfield. (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1952. Pp. viii + 176. Price 10s.)

This abridged edition of Dr. Hadfield's larger work is more than sufficient for the student, lay reader, probation officers or others who wish to obtain some knowledge of this subject. The author describes the principles of mental health, types of character and temperament, delinquency, psychoneuroses, psychosomatic disorders, sexual disorders and perversions. He describes the underlying psychological processes, gives explanations which he illustrates by many examples and discusses the various theories and methods of treatment. In his own method of treatment, which he calls 'direct reductive analysis', he employs some of the principles of psychoanalysis but differs considerably in his technique, aims and theory.

This book covers a good deal of ground and is a useful introduction to the subject.

S. H. LUCAS.

PSYCHIATRY TO-DAY. A summary of up-to-date knowledge of the problems of mental illness and abnormality, their causes, treatment, and medical and social implications. By David Stafford-Clark. (London: Pelican Books Ltd. 1952. Pp. 304. Price 2s. 6d.)

Dr. Stafford-Clark accomplishes the difficult feat of presenting the whole of psychiatry for the lay reader.

Beginning with an interesting historical introduction to psychiatry, he describes the various forms of mental and psychological illness, discusses their causation and outlines the various modern physical and psychological treatments. This is an authoritative account of psychiatry as it is practised to-day in mental hospitals and psychiatric clinics. The author also discusses the social problems connected with psychiatric illness and there are references to delinquency, and the legal aspects of psychiatry.

This book can be recommended to social workers, probation officers and others who wish to be introduced to this subject. There are some up-to-date statistics which will be of interest to doctors.

S. H. LUCAS.

MEDICAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Paul Schilder. Translated and edited by D. Rapaport. (International Universities Press, Inc. New York. 1953. Pp. 428. Price $7.50.)

This work of the late Paul Schilder is no elementary text-book. It covers a wide domain from the frontiers of experimental psychology to the deeper strata of the life of Instinct and the Unconscious. The material therefore is derived from the tested data of the laboratory to the data of psycho-analysis which call for other standards of acceptance. In this respect the reader is confronted by a variety of concepts springing from different kinds of psychological discipline.

Schilder stood out equally prominently in neurology as in psychopathology and his very catholicity of thought is of value because he was versed in all the disciplines of neuro-psychiatry, but singularly unattached. The author's intention was to aim at and achieve an integration of the various sources of knowledge

upon which a theory of behaviour could be established and he tends to accept a psychological parallelism which by its very nature implies two independent causal series. For those who need a 'philosophical' discussion of psyche and organism, without loss of contact with the data of neurology and psychology, this book will be rewarding. There is a bibliography of nine hundred references.

E. M.

THE USES AND ABUSES OF PSYCHOLOGY. By H. J. Eysenck. (London: Penguin Books Ltd. 1953. Pp. 318. Price 2s. 6d.)

Much of this book is clearly and vigorously written, where it does not stray far from the well-established doctrines of 'conscious' psychology; the sections on Intelligence Testing, Vocational Guidance are admirable (though over-condensed) summaries, persuasive to the man in the street and scientific in spirit. Good, but less good, are the chapters on Social Attitudes, the defects of which arise from Dr. Eysenck's plain preference for, and sympathy with, the statistical superficialities of much 'conscious' psychology. On the other hand, one would wish that the section on Abnormal Psychology had either been eliminated to allow the other topics to be expanded or that the author had been able to shed his prejudices to give a plain and unemotional account of this difficult subject. He asserts, for example, that the effectiveness of psychotherapy is 'not proven' and that it is based on an unscientific reliance on the maxim *Post hoc ergo propter hoc*, a conclusion that will not be verified by his colleagues who still struggle gamely at the Maudsley Hospital. In his discussion of the spontaneous remission of symptoms he ignores (1) the phenomena of alternative and conversion symptoms and (2) the no-less well known spontaneous and unresolved transference. He looks on enuresis as 'a failure in learning' and control of the bladder as 'a problem in learning' and writes of Freud that he 'as one might have expected, succeeded in introducing a sexual angle into the study of enuresis'. He then gives an interesting scheme of therapy with bells which ring when the child wets his bed. I wonder if the author has ever had the job of curing an enuretic child outside the psychological laboratory? He has similar notions about nail-biting, gum-chewing and smoking. He repeats the old jibe that no person can criticize psycho-analysis unless he has been psycho-analysed and that then he does not want to—a complete misunderstanding of Freud's statement 'the teachings of psycho-analysis are based upon an incalculable number of observations and experiences, and no one who has not repeated those observations upon himself or upon others is in a position to arrive at an independent judgment of it'. Is Plato's injunction, *Noverim me, noverim te*, irrelevant in the understanding of human behaviour? It may be so to Dr. Eysenck and others of his way of thinking but it cannot be to all concerned with the deeper motives of human conduct.

As this is a cheap book which will be read by many as a part of their training in one or other of the fields of work with delinquency, it is important that they should be made aware of its faults as well as of its virtues and that they should read other works on the subject which, with more objectivity, less polemic and over-simplification and fewer half-truths, attempt the same task.

LEONARD BLOOM.

AGGRESSION AND ITS INTERPRETATION. By Lydia Jackson. (London: Methuen & Co. 1954. Pp. 236. Price 21s.)

The term ' aggression ' has been the subject of much difference of opinion in circles not confined to psychopathology. It enters into both biological and sociological thought and in each it has been given such differing connotations that fundamental theory as to the drives of human nature and their mutual interaction becomes befogged. This is no academic matter: for if aggressivity is not fundamental but derivative then our mode of handling normal, neurotic and retarded persons will be profoundly modified.

Dr. Jackson in this monograph has subjected the concept of aggression to careful clinical inspection, by the treatment of the three groups, normal, neurotic, and delinquent. She has also studied with some statistical checks the responses to a series of specifically devised Thematic Apperception Tests. From clinical study of the children through play therapy and by applying these projection tests, she has concluded that aggression is not to be regarded as a primary drive but an aspect of self assertion and its end—self realization; aggressivity has both a negative and positive expression showing most strikingly in the emergence of constructiveness as therapeutic results are achieved in overcoming inner conflicts and frustration.

This volume is particularly valuable inasmuch as the exposition of the thesis is conveyed by excellent case studies in which the children come to life in their family setting. In this way, the author overcomes some of the objections raised to psycho-analytic thinking by the dominance of theoretical exposition over empirical case material. The volume will repay careful study by all who are engaged in the treatment of delinquent children and those children in particular who exhibit in addition neurotic traits in symptoms and character.

The part played by mother-child relations is particularly stressed, perhaps unduly, as the rôle of the father in early character formation cannot be entirely ignored. The unloved child is deprived of the security, the unfathered child is equally deprived of the model from which normal inhibiting patterns are acquired.

E. M

INSIDE. By Helen Bryan. (London: Peter Davies. 1954. Pp. 276. Price 15s. net.)

Helen Bryan is an educated, middle-aged American woman, who was sentenced to three months' imprisonment in the federal women's penitentiary at Alderson, Virginia, for refusing to disclose to the Un-American Activities Committee the list of subscribers to a refugee fund for which she was responsible. Alderson is the only federal women's prison in the U.S.A., and this book, the author of which appears as a humane, civilized and perceptive person, is a welcome addition to the library of prison experiences. Physically, the prison itself, which is run on the cottage system, seems to have been unexceptionable. Miss Bryan does not discuss this aspect of it in detail, but incidental references show that there was adequate and reasonable food, a choice of six or seven dresses to wear, opportunity to buy or to make little extras, varied educational classes and a very high standard of medical care. Nor has Miss Bryan any complaint to make of the officers, who seem to have been uniformly just, as well as generally kind and deeply concerned for the welfare of the prisoners, though always with a

certain detachment. At the same time, the prison routine showed characteristics associated with disciplinary institutions the world over—notably the extreme emphasis on details of orderliness such as the correct folding of clothes. An inmate of Alderson, as of many other places of detention, might well come away with the impression that obsessional tidiness is a more important virtue than mutual consideration or a socially responsible attitude to the demands of life in the complex world ' outside '.

The book includes a number of pen portraits of the author's fellow prisoners (mostly much younger than herself), many of whom had been concerned in serious offences—burglary, drug traffic, kidnapping, homicide and so forth. These portraits are drawn with sympathy and insight and without sentimentality: and they are particularly reliable in that the author seems to have succeeded in presenting these in terms of the values and experiences of the subjects themselves. The difference between the interpretation of criminal behaviour and mental processes which can be made by an articulate member (even a temporary member) of the in-group, and even the best insights of the most experienced social workers or prison visitors, remains both subtle and wide. Miss Bryan's own unhappy experience gave her a great opportunity; and we are much in her debt for the skill and the wisdom with which she has used this.

BARBARA WOOTTON.

THE HARGREAVES STORY. By Frank James White. (London: The Bodley Head. 1953. Pp. 191. 10*s.* 6*d.*)

The more interesting part of this book is the chapter called ' Beginning ', which begins on p. 145, and those that follow. The author, who tells the story of his many crimes, was the son of a ' barrow boy ' and began life in the same modest way. Advertisements seem always to have had a strange fascination for him ' and when he was about twelve he began to answer those that attracted him.' Most of his crimes began with his own advertisements, the success of which would make any advertising firm jealous. Readers are told how these produced thousands of replies and these successes paved the way for his many crimes of obtaining large sums by false pretences. The author apparently had a Midas touch and many of his criminal achievements read like ' The Swiss Family Robinson '. Money was hurled at him, we are asked to believe, by those who read his many advertisements. ' Within a month orders exceeding £10,000 poured in ' and, in another instance, ' Within two months over £20,000 had been paid in.' Some more discerning readers will wish that some corroboration of these achievements could have been provided.

CLAUD MULLINS.

ABSTRACTS AND REFERENCES

(Under the direction of W. R. Bett, with the co-operation of Augusta Bonnard, J. P. Martin, John C. Spencer and J. E. Hall Williams.)

CRIMINOLOGY

EDWIN M. LEMERT: ' An Isolation and Closure Theory of Naive Check Forgery ', *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1953, **44**, 296–307.

The concept of naive forgery is used by the author, Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of California, to indicate forgeries committed by persons who have had no previous criminal record and no previous contact and interaction with delinquents and criminals. The theory is stated in terms of (*a*) the characteristics of the crime, (*b*) the person, (*c*) the situation, (*d*) the socio-psychological process. J. C. S.

F. SALOMON: ' The Rorschach Test in Criminology ', *International Criminal Police Review*, November 1953, **8**, 290–294. (Table; five references.)

The Rorschach test is described, and its use is discussed in connexion with young delinquents. Mention is also made of the ' collective ' Rorschach or ' Z test ', the use of which should not be restricted to possible delinquents, but should be applied in educational establishments to reveal disorders of mind and character which compromise a child's future. W. R. B.

H. BAKWIN : ' The Challenge of Juvenile Delinquency ', *Journal of Pediatrics*, March 1954, **44**, 338–342. (Table ; 8 references.)

J. SPENCER: ' Delinquent Behaviour: Some Unanswered Questions ', *Eugenics Review*, April 1954, **46**, 29–38. (Forty-six references.)

F. H. MCCLINTOCK: ' The Criminal Statistics for England and Wales, 1952 ', *Howard Journal*, 1954, 9^1, 29–35.

O. M. STONE: ' Logic and the Criminal ', *Howard Journal*, 1954, 9^1, 59–61.

J. P. HUBBARD: ' Juvenile Delinquency ', *Pediatrics*, February 1954, **13**, 188–191.

R. SESSIONS HODGE: ' Evidence in the Physiology of Delinquents ', *Medico-Legal Journal*, 1953, 21^3, 72–79. (Discussion.)

S-C. VERSELE : ' Predelictual Action. III.—Dangerous Persons ', *International Criminal Police Review*, November 1953, **8**, 298–303. (Conclusions; nine footnotes.)

PENOLOGY

A. LEY : ' The refusal to eat, known as hunger striking, among prisoners '. *Revue de Droit Penal et de Criminologie*, February 1954, **5**, 458–488.

It is stated that the term ' hunger striking ' is incorrect, since the purpose is the refusal of vital nourishment in order to arouse the guilt sense of the authorities. Motivations vary between sulking, political incitement and psychiatric disturbance. It is suggested that tempting food which promotes olfactory and visual arousal of appetite should be tried first. When this fails, nasal feeding should be resorted to, whether in prison or in a psychiatric ward. The State should not be a party to death taking place through self-imposed starvation. A. B.

BLANCA J. ARCE: ' Caseload Segregation by Sex ', *Focus*, 1953, **32**, 140–144.

Established practice in the United States is to employ relatively few women probation and parole officers in adult courts and to restrict their caseloads to members of their own sex. This is partly due to belief in the concept of the probation officer as a law enforcement officer. In Puerto Rico caseloads of adult parolees are not segregated by sex. The advantages claimed are that men on parole to a woman officer feel in a position of trust, and that a maternal approach is better than an authoritarian one. It is more important to select parole officers with suitable personal traits than to place excessive emphasis on their own sex.

J. P. M.

SANFORD BATES: ' The Significance of Prison Riots ', *Focus*, 1953, **32**, 129–134.

This article discusses the background of the 1952 wave of prison riots that took place in many areas of the world but which were particularly publicized in America. The author's special concern is with those in New Jersey. Three important general factors were: the influence of excessive publicity on what might otherwise have been overlooked as routine incidents; the characteristic organization of American prisons with its emphasis on a high degree of freedom within the security of the prison walls; and the extended use of promotion and parole which has removed from the prison population many of its more stable members. Specific causes in New Jersey were: (1) ' Political control of the management of the prison.' (2) ' An outdated, archaic and overcrowded building.' (3) A minority of trained staff. (4) Insufficient work so that 30 per cent. of the inmates were idle. (5) ' A residual inequity in parole laws.' (6) ' Failure to set up a system of communication with the inmates whereby such discrepancies in parole law and other management features could be explained.' (7) Lack of co-operation between the Warden and the Central Office. (8) ' Restrictive decisions by the courts which deprived some classes of prisoners of certain commutation rights.' The main need seems to be a ' career ' prison service.

J. P. M.

EARL L. PETERSON: ' Civic Spirit Built Our Detention Home ', *Focus*, 1954, **33**, 12–17.

Describes a successful campaign, in Kansas City, to found a detention home, as an alternative to the local prison, for juvenile offenders awaiting trial. Interesting to the British reader as an example of voluntary effort coping with a deplorable situation. The ' Ads ' reproduced are a vivid illustration of a way of doing things very different from our own.

J. P. M.

EVELYN MCMINN: ' The Institutional Parole Officer ', *Focus*, 1954, **33**, 21–24.

Discusses the rôle and work of a Parole Officer assigned to the New Jersey Reformatory for Women in an effort to bridge the gap between the institutional and parole treatment of offenders. Her work with, and relationship to, the institution's staff is relevant to some needs in this country.

J. P. M.

WALTER A. GORDON: 'An Experiment in Intensive Supervision', *Focus*, 1954, **33**, 33–36.

This article describes the design of an experiment in intensive supervision of parolees being carried out in California. Aims are (i) to see if intensive supervision for first three months after release appreciably reduces rate of violations of parole, and (ii) to see if this degree of supervision makes possible the earlier release of selected parolees. Intensive supervision consists of twice-weekly meetings of an hour each during the first three months of parole; the parole officers have case-loads of 15 instead of the usual 90. J. P. M.

WILLIAM and JOAN MCCORD: 'Two approaches to the cure of Delinquents', *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1953, **44**, 442–467.

This article assesses the effects of two training schools on the personalities, values, and leadership patterns of seventy delinquents. The one is a progressive private training school, the other a typical reformatory. The former reveals a significantly higher reformative rate, and the object of this study was to discover the reasons for this. Seventy delinquent boys were interviewed at each school through the use of projective tests and questionnaires on authoritarianism, prejudice, personal values and leadership patterns. The therapy of the former school decreases prejudice, anxiety and authoritarianism. The latter school does not affect them. The values of boys at the former centred around constructive activities and affirmative ego ideals, while at the latter showed a preoccupation with destructive activities and a punitive view of the world. J. C. S.

GEORGE J. TRAIN: 'Unrest in the Penitentiary', *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1953, **44**, 277–295.

The author is Clinical Instructor in Psychiatry in the School of Medicine of the State University of New York. His object in this paper is to present the superficial dynamics of the penitentiary climate and to deal in a general way with these forces which interfere with the development of rapport, which he regards as essential for the study of the inmate. The reaction of inmates to the penitentiary is illustrated by examples. A realistic programme is not yet available. Intensive criminological research is a fundamental need, and some characteristics of staff required for a research penitentiary are suggested. J. C. S.

T. GRAHAM LUCAS: 'An experiment with a Pre-Licence Hostel', *Approved Schools Gazette*, 1954, **47**, 253–255.

The Headmaster of the Ty Mawr School describes an experiment designed to cater particularly for those model pupils who collapse after leaving the school. Three disused Nissen huts were selected, and each was divided into a living room and a bedroom to accommodate four boys. A warden was appointed for the experiment and the boys were gradually weaned away from the parent school. A firm routine was avoided. About 10 to 20 per cent. were taken back for further training in the school. Boys were encouraged to do as much as possible for themselves. After-care successes increased steadily after its introduction and decreased again when it was temporarily discontinued. The personal influence of a woman is definitely needed. J. C. S.

H. J. KLARE: 'Professional Social Work and the Rehabilitation of Prisoners. I. The Trained Social Worker and the Structure of Prison Communities', *Howard Journal*, 1954, **9**[1], 36–41.

M. TILLEY: 'Professional Social Work and the Rehabilitation of Prisoners. II. The Trained Social Worker's Approach to the Individual Prisoner', *Howard Journal*, 1954, **9**[1], 41–47.

H. M. MORTON: 'Professional Social Work and the Rehabilitation of Prisoners. III. The Trained Social Worker and After-care', *Howard Journal*, 1954, **9**[1], 47–51.

C. T. CAPE: 'Prison Education—Training for Freedom?', *Howard Journal*, 1954, **9**[1], 56–58.

W. A. ELKIN: 'Report of the Prison Commissioners for 1952', *Howard Journal*, 1954, **9**[1], 61–66.

S. HUYNEN: 'Problèmes du Traitement Institutionnel des Mineurs Délinquants', *Courrier*, October 1953, **3**, 485–495. (English summary; 34 references.)

PSYCHIATRY

VAL BEYER SATTERFIELD: 'Criteria for detection and control of arsonists', *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1953, **44**, 417–427.

The Assistant Professor of Clinical Psychiatry, Washington School of Medicine, concludes that firesetting is an expression of the social frustration of the personality with disabling schizoid traits. The surface motives are revenge, jealousy, spite and destructiveness. The control of firesetting and firesetters depends on the ability of society to facilitate the adjustment of schizoid personalities to the social system. Confinement, examination and treatment of all offenders is essential for the safety of the community and the enlightenment of the careless pathological firesetter. J. C. S.

ROBERT L. MCFARLAND and WILLIAM A. HALL: 'A survey of one hundred suspected drug addicts', *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1953, **44**, 308–319.

This paper describes the findings and clinical impression of a sample of 100 suspected drug addicts referred to the Psychiatric Institute of the Municipal Courts of Chicago. The author concluded that the most effective rôle we could follow in these suspected drug cases is twofold: (1) to assess the treatability of each suspected narcotic addict and place the small expected number of patients with good prognosis in local treatment agencies, (2) to carry out further studies in the diagnosis and treatment of drug addicts. J. C. S.

JAMES W. KIRKWOOD: 'So He's a Psychopath!' *Focus*, 1953, **32**, 134–139.

'"Psychopathic personality" has become a diagnostic waste basket, especially in the field of juvenile delinquency.' Case histories of children labelled psychopaths are given and diagnosed by the author as neurotics. He suggests in examining juvenile offenders it is desirable 'to emphasize history rather than personality and mental health tests.' J. P. M.

B. C. GLUECK, JR.: 'Psychodynamic Patterns in the Sex Offender', *Psychiatric Quarterly*, January 1954, **28,** 1–21. (Five references.)

P. SCOTT: 'The Criminal Justice Act of 1948 and the Psychiatrist: Observations from a Court Clinic', *Howard Journal*, 1954, **9**[1], 20–29.

P. J. REITER: 'Über die Behandlung krimineller Psychopathen in Dänemark', *Wiener Zeitschrift für Nervenheilkunde*, 1954, **9**[1–2], 76–91.

C. L. LANGSAM and O. B. MARKEY: 'Psychiatric Orientation in a Juvenile Court Setting', *Ohio State Medical Journal*, January 1954, **50,** 34–38. (Table; summary; five references.)

E. STRANSKY: 'Der Psychiater als Kriminalist', *Klinische Medizin*, January 1954, **9,** 1–16. (Twenty-one references.)

M. HAMZA: 'The Dynamic Forces in the Personalities of Juvenile Delinquents in the Egyptian Environment', *British Journal of Psychology*, November 1953, **44,** 330–338. (Six tables; summary and conclusions ; six references.)

B. KOTKOV: 'Group Psychotherapy with Wayward Girls', *Diseases of the Nervous System*, October 1953, **14,** 308–312. (Four references.)

SOCIOLOGY

PROFESSOR AUG. LEY: 'The Psychology of Play and of Sport', *Revue de Droit Penal et de Criminologie*, 1954, **6,** 527–535.

Play in younger children and sport in older ones and adults should be regarded both as recapitulating the development stages of the human race, and as a pleasurable means of attaining individual experience of the art of living. They should, therefore, receive every encouragement. Exhibitions of brutality, whether of professional boxing in which grave injuries may be sustained or fights between or with animals to the point of infliction of death, should be totally debarred. They are neither play nor sport. A. B.

ARTHUR MADDISON (Member of Bristol City Council): 'The Bristol Social Project—A New Approach to Delinquency', *Justice of the Peace and Local Government Review*, February 13, 1954, **118,** 100–101.

L. CHALONER: 'Camping with Boys on Probation', *Health Horizon*, Spring, 1954, 26–30.

LAW

The Criminal Law Review, published monthly by Sweet and Maxwell.

This new monthly journal is designed to cover every aspect of the subject. Though primarily aimed at lawyers, the scope of the *Review* is not confined to law but embraces criminology and penology in so far as those sciences are of direct interest to those whose duty it is to administer the criminal law. It also includes parliamentary information and notes of debates.

The January number, which was the first issue, contained an article entitled 'Trial of a Deaf Mute', founded on *R.* v. *Roberts*, which was tried at Cardiff on March 23, 1953, and an article on 'The Psychopath and the M'Naghten Rules', based on *R.* v. *Wilkinson*, which was tried at the Central Criminal Court on

November 2 and 3, 1953. There are articles by Dr. J. B. Firth entitled ' Aspects of Forensic Science ' in the February and April numbers. ' The Towpath Murder ' (*R.* v. *Whiteway*) forms the subject of a contribution in the March number, and there is an account of the Fourth International Course in Criminology in the May number. E. H. W.

HENRY WEIHOFEN: ' The M'Naghten Rule in its Present-Day Setting ', *Federal Probation*, September 1953, **17**, 8–14.

Current American trends in the use and interpretation of the Rules are described. Other legal solutions to the problem of responsibility are being evolved for specific types of offence, *e.g.*, laws relating to ' psychopathic sex offenders '. Pre-sentence psychiatric reports provide a way of getting round certain problems of definition, such as ' sexual psychopaths '. Together these procedures are taking over much of the field previously covered only by the M'Naghten rules. J. P. M.

J. C. ARNOLD: ' The Report on Capital Punishment—The M'Naghten Rules ', *The Solicitor*, January 1954, **21**, 5–7.

This is a brief account of the Royal Commission's recommendations concerning the defence of insanity in criminal law, together with some sympathetic criticisms. E. H. W.

GEORGES-ALBERT UGEUX: ' Should the wrongly accused person, in preventive detention, have the right to be indemnified ', *Revue de Droit Penal et de Criminologie*, January 1954, **4**, 311–332.

After giving the historical background of this problem in France and Belgium, the author cites the general conclusions reached at the International Congress of Penal Law, held in Rome, in October 1953. A resolution was passed to the effect that a wrongly accused person should be indemnified, if preventive detention was improper. A. B.

THEO COLLIGNON: ' Boxing and Social Protection ', *Revue de Droit Penal et de Criminologie*, 1953, **2**, 91–129.

Monsieur Collignon sets out the four Articles of the Law, proposed in January 1952, which would render organized boxing and ' all in ' wrestling illegal. He draws not only ethical but also legal distinctions between sport as such, and what he describes as ' a pact of lucrative aggression ', the latter to include and inculpate not only the boxers, but all concerned in its promotion. Much historical and clinical material is provided, which proves that professional boxers suffer permanent and progressive brain damage of a grave and disabling nature, quite apart from manifest bodily injuries. A. B.

S. J. TIMMENGA: ' Analysis of the blood in Holland ', *Revue de Droit Penal et de Criminologie*, April 1954, **7**, 663–674.

The author disputes not only the legality of compulsory removal of blood in order to test its alcohol content, but also asserts it to be a grave affront to the principle of human rights. This test has come to be used in Holland only in very

recent years in order to determine inebriation or otherwise, in drivers of cars and riders of cycles. In his view, blood may only be taken with its owner's proper knowledge and free consent. But if he be drunk, then how can this state of *compos mentis* be present? And, without full awareness, the taking of blood becomes an assault. He also asks how it is legally possible or desirable for it to be demanded that a person provide evidence against themselves. Mr. Timmenga gives other cogent arguments why he considers that this blood-testing practice should be prohibited. A. B.

THOMAS J. MEYERS: 'The Riddle of Legal Insanity', *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1953, **44**, 330–337.

S. G. TUFFILL: 'Prostitution, Homosexuality and the Law', *King's College Hospital Gazette*, Spring 1954, **33**, 19–29. (Conclusion.)

J. E. HALL WILLIAMS: 'Report of the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment, 1949–1953', *Modern Law Review*, January 1954, **17**, 57–65.

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